NRA CODE

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXIX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1934 No. 3623

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 659
EDITORIALS:
A Social Plan for the United States 662
Security or War in Europe 663
Health Insurance 663
A Respectable Dramatist 664
ISSUES AND MEN. PROPAGANDA IN THE MOVIES. By Oswald Garrison Villard 665
A YEAR OF LEGAL LIQUOR. By H. L. Mencken 666
THE PRESIDENT VS. THE PRESIDENT. By Raymond Gram Swing 667
WAR GERMS IN THE DANUBE BASIN. III. THE NATIONALITY PROBLEM. By Oscar Jaszi 669
REVOLT IN CANADIAN POLITICS. By Frank H. Underhill . . 671
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 673
CORRESPONDENCE 674

HOLIDAY BOOK SECTION

FIFTY BEST BOOKS OF 1934 678
BOOKS AND DRAMA:
Three Against the Classics. By Carl Van Doren 680
Panorama of Recent Writing. By Joseph Wood Krutch . . . 681
Anatomy of Fascism. By James Burnham 681
Dostoevski Street. By William Troy 682
A Poet's Defense of Nationalism. By Lionel Abel 684
How News Is Made. By George Seldes 684
Patterns of Culture. By Margaret Mead 686
A World Under Water. By Hugh H. Darby 686
Art and the Life of Action. By Babette Deutsch 687
Ernest Walsh. By R. P. Blackmur 688
The Yellow Man's Burden. By T. A. Bisson 689
Shorter Notices 690
Drama: Empire Builder. By Joseph Wood Krutch 692
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 694

BOARD OF EDITORS
FREDA KIRCHWEY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
RAYMOND GRAM SWING

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
MARGARET MARSHALL MAXWELL S. STEWART
DOROTHY VAN DOREN

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States; to Canada, $5.50; and to other foreign countries, $6.00.

THE NATION. Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1934, by The Nation, Inc.; Oswald Garrison Villard, Publisher.
Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager. Cable Address: Nation, New York.

IF MAYOR LAGUARDIA had spent his entire time in office looking for the worst possible tax, he could not have found one worse than the sales tax which he has imposed on the city of New York. Judged from any point of view, the sales tax is indefensible. It is clumsy, costly to administer, bureaucratic, and detrimental to legitimate business. The burden of the levy falls chiefly on those least able to pay it, both because this group constitutes the great bulk of the consumers and because the wealthy spend a comparatively small proportion of their income on consumers' goods. To say, as one alderman is reported to have said, that a part of the tax will be paid by non-residents of New York is to admit that it violates even further the principles of sound taxation. If the money is to be used for the relief of New York residents, there is no reason why the city—the wealthiest in the world—should attempt to shift the burden to outsiders. Of course no tax is popular, but any number have been suggested which would be better than the one imposed. The Citizens' Conference on Unemployment has formulated a program designed to raise from $50,000,000 to $70,000,000 by a levy on high incomes and business profits. While this would be sound, we believe a tax on luxuries to be even more defensible. Figures were forwarded to Mayor LaGuardia, for instance, showing that a very considerable sum could be raised by a graduated impost on all restaurant meals costing more than 50 cents. A tax on rents in excess of $75 a month would also yield a substantial income. Even ex-Mayor O'Brien's much-derided levy on automobiles was far more equitable than that devised by LaGuardia, who only a few months ago was emphatic in his denunciation of attempts to throw the burden of the depression on the poor.

FOR THE THIRD TIME Great Britain and the United States have made strong representations at Tokio against the oil monopoly recently established in Manchuria. From a legal standpoint these protests are undoubtedly in order. The two Anglo-Saxon countries are on strong ground when they reject Japan's pretense that Manchoukuo is an independent country. Nor can there be any doubt that Japan has deliberately violated the "open-door" principle contained in the Nine-Power Treaty. But it is both strange and disheartening that the State Department should not have taken a firm stand on this point until the profits of the Standard Oil Company were endangered. The hopeful aspect of the situation lies in the fact that on this issue as well as on that of naval disarmament the United States and Britain appear to be working more closely together than ever before, a development which Japanese diplomacy has sought above all else to prevent. If this cooperation can be maintained during the difficult year ahead, it is inconceivable that the Japanese will long persist in their present intransigent attitude.

LACKING a more substantial cause for gratification, the press has hailed the 36 per cent increase in the value of American exports for the first ten months of 1934 as indicating a "recovery of our international commerce." An analysis of the trade returns, however, will quickly dispel any such misapprehension. The chief gains have not been made in agricultural products, where our surpluses lie, but in motor cars and manufactured goods, where the advantage obtained by devaluation of the dollar has been most apparent. Even more serious is the fact that imports have shown practically no gain, apart from the rise in prices. Since the United States is a creditor country, the increased export surplus tends to throw our international balance of payments still farther out of adjustment and to intensify pressure on the debtor countries. For the past few months it has been the policy of the Administration to take the balance owed us in the form of gold and silver. But obviously this cannot be long continued without disastrous effect upon the countries depending on these metals as a basis for their currencies. It is a situation which in theory can be corrected by the reciprocal tariff negotiations now under way. Action will have to be prompt and courageous, however, to overcome the damage which has already been done by an ill-conceived monetary policy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"WE SEE NO NEED for a code which would establish labor standards of fair competition. If such a code is imposed on us, we intend to disregard its provisions." Such in effect was the ultimatum flung at the NRA by spokesmen for the milk-distributing industry. The milk distributors take their stand with the tobacco manufacturers and the public utilities, whose codes, started through the administrative mill many months ago, have long been lost from sight. It is easy to understand why the employers in all three cases should be dead set against the idea of codification. The industries are already monopolies or quasi-monopolies and would gain nothing substantial through the privilege of dictating fair trade practices. Labor provisions—minimum wages, maximum hours, the guaranty on paper of collective bargaining—would be the only significant features of any code that might be forthcoming. Why become subject to labor standards, the employers reason, when the NRA can offer nothing in return? But to understand the motives which control the employers is hardly to excuse the NRA from adhering to the premises of its own logic: that recovery can most effectively be induced by shortening the work week and raising rates of pay per hour, per day, and per week. The President's licensing power lapsed last June after a life, exclusively theoretical, of one year, but Section 7-c of the Recovery Act is still effective. This section authorizes the President to impose codes limited in content to labor provisions in the event that the employers and employees of any industry fail to establish labor standards by mutual agreement. It is not too late even now to apply this provision to the defiant employers in the milk, tobacco, and power trusts.

THE SUCCESS of Soviet agrarian policy is confirmed by the announcement of Premier Molotov, on November 25, that the rationing of bread is to be discontinued on January 1, 1935. Since the initial days of the Five-Year Plan the sale of bread in the state and cooperative stores has been restricted in order to assure an adequate supply for industrial workers at a reasonable price. While the amount available for each individual has been generous according to American standards, the limitation to one to two pounds a day per person has proved extremely irksome to the majority of Russians. Nevertheless, even when the harvest was good, as in 1930 and 1933, the restrictions were maintained because of the necessity of building up reserves of grain and of exporting all available surpluses to pay for imported machinery. Now the emergency is past, according to Premier Molotov, and sufficient grain is on hand to provide for the needs of the Soviet population up to the 1935 harvest. He pointed out that grain deliveries and grain purchased by the state during the past year totaled more than 900,000,000 bushels, as compared with 390,000,000 controlled by the state in 1928 when the bread cards were introduced. Those who would interpret this step as an indication of a "trend toward capitalism" might well ponder Molotov's statement that 92 per cent of this grain came from collective and state farms, whereas 86 per cent had come from individual peasants as late as 1929. Similarly, the number of state and cooperative stores has increased from 123,000 in 1928, providing 22.5 per cent of the entire retail trade, to 283,000 in 1934, which provide for practically the entire retail trade. Despite temporary concessions to private trade—each hailed in the American press as the death knell of communism—it has actually been all but wiped out. If one wished to make invidious comparisons, one might also point out that in the Soviet Union the increased cost of bread is to be offset by a rise in wages—the second within a year.

THE HITLER GOVERNMENT has dismissed Professor Karl Barth from his post in the University of Bonn because he insisted on qualifying the oath of loyalty exacted of all university teachers. Barth, the leader of the neo-orthodox "dialectical" school of theology, has been a thorn in the flesh of the Nazis throughout the controversy between the church and the state. His little pamphlet "Theological Existence Today" was the trumpet call which, more than any other single influence, prompted church leaders to offer resistance to the totalitarian claims of the fascist state. The refusal of Karl Barth to sign the oath of loyalty without qualification, while hundreds of formerly liberal professors presumably offered no resistance to this final effort to "coordinate" them, is all the more striking in view of the age-old tendency of German theology to enjoin obedience to the state as a religious duty. In the entire current controversy the church has never presumed to criticize any of the policies of the Nazi state on moral or religious grounds. It has insisted only that the "brotherhood of blood" of a racial state must not be made authoritative in the religious community and that the state must not presume to regulate the internal affairs of the church. The church of Germany has thus restricted the sacred realm in which it holds itself supreme to the narrowest possible limits. The limits are so narrow, in fact, that the church has probably sunk to a lower level of authority and moral prestige in Germany than in any other nation of the Western world. Yet it would seem that the very minuteness of the spiritual territory which the church staked out for itself prompted it in the hour of crisis to defend its claims with the greater tenacity and courage, putting to shame groups with larger pretensions.

TWO DEVELOPMENTS this past week suggest that the suicidal tendency of the radical movement in this country to divide into minute fragments may have come to an end. The action of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in permitting a united front with the Communists in local branches, while timid and evasive of the real issue, is at least an advance on the party's previous attitude. This, together with the party's reaffirmation of the Declaration of Principles, indicates that the Socialist Party may yet free itself of reactionary leadership and play a significant role in American political life. At the same time we find that a fusion has taken place between the American Workers' Party and the Communist League (the Trotzky Opposition) to form a new group known as the Workers' Party of the United States. We hope that these two events will lead to the growth of a united labor movement in this country which will eschew the luxury of factional differences.

AS WE GO TO PRESS, word comes that the American Newspaper Guild has won its first important victory. The National Labor Board has not only taken jurisdiction in the case of Dean S. Jennings, chief rewrite man on Mr. Hearst's San Francisco *Call-Bulletin*, allegedly forced to resign for guild activities; it has ordered his reinstatement within ten days. This case will be discussed further next

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

week. Meanwhile newspaper workers on the picket line in Newark, New Jersey, are getting some valuable experience in the motives, the technique, and the point of view of those who are driven to strike for better conditions. And when the forty-two editorial employees of the *Ledger* get back on the job they will have learned a great deal also about the tactics of employers whose workers have walked out. The strike was called against a publisher, Lucius Russell, who has a flagrant record of arbitrary hiring and firing, particularly since the rise of the guild. He has refused to deal with the guild as an independent organization. Since the strike began, Mr. Russell, like many another employer before him, has charged the guild with making demands it has not advanced; he has made much of protecting his "loyal" workers (they have rapidly diminished since the walkout started); but being a publisher, Mr. Russell's greatest concern has been for his freedom of speech. Despite repeated disavowals he maintains that the guild, through the grievance committee it has proposed, is trying to get editorial control. Needless to say, in his brave fight to maintain the integrity of his editorial policy he has not hesitated to misrepresent the guild and its activities in advertisements "edited" to fit his own point of view. Throughout the strike, the guild, by means of that ingenuity for which newspaper people are famous, has contrived to keep the town strike-conscious and also entertained. When the *Ledger* suspended publication, the unit issued free a lively newssheet of its own bearing the caption, *"Ledger* Fails You—Its Staff Doesn't." It has enlisted the sympathy of many news dealers who have boycotted the *Ledger*—at one point the circulation is said to have dropped from 34,000 to 5,000.

IN the correspondence columns of this issue, *The Nation* prints a communication from the International Labor Defense in answer to its editorial on the Scottsboro case in the issue of November 28. This letter makes several vague but unpleasant insinuations—such as that *The Nation* condones the attempt of the Alabama courts to railroad the Scottsboro defendants to the electric chair; it offers an exposition of Communist theory—which it has every right to do—with which *The Nation* does not agree and for which disagreement it has no apologies to offer; and it charges two errors of fact, one of them serious. (It really does not seem to matter much whether the I. L. D. tried to get rid of Mr. Leibowitz before he tried to get rid of the I. L. D., or vice versa.) The serious error is the sentence in *The Nation's* editorial which declared that "several hundred thousand dollars" had been raised in the Scottsboro defense. *The Nation* depended for this statement on a source which it considered reliable, one which, incidentally, had no direct connection with the case. The I. L. D. makes a contradictory declaration about the funds raised for the defense which appears in its letter referred to above; to last April, according to the letter, total collections amounted to $55,194; to date, the letter sets them "under $75,000." On October 11 the New York *Herald Tribune* on page 20 carried a news story in which "a representative of the I. L. D.," discussing the sums raised for the Scottsboro defendants, said: "The complete defense, including [mass] pressure, has certainly not cost more than $125,000." *The Nation* withdraws its remark that "several hundred thousand dollars" has been raised in the case. It does not know how much has been raised.

TOO LATE for the letter columns, *The Nation* has also received from Charles C. Burlingham a comment on its proposal for an impartial committee. Mr. Burlingham's letter follows:

> In your recent article on the Scottsboro case you suggest that a committee of lawyers should "go to Kilby Prison and take a final and impartial deposition from Norris and Patterson, designating their counsel." This suggestion does not seem to me very practical, especially while an application for certiorari is pending. No argument is permitted on such applications; the court passes on the papers filed, the practice being for each Justice individually to examine the petitions and briefs before the court grants or refuses the writ. The character, ability, and experience of Messrs. Pollak and Fraenkel give assurance that the moving papers are as complete and persuasive as possible.
>
> If Mr. Leibowitz or any other lawyer wishes to intervene, or claims the right to represent the defendants exclusively, he should apply to the Chief Justice, who will probably decide the question himself or refer it to the Clerk, a Master, or some other referee.
>
> It is certainly not to the interest of the defendants that there should be an unseemly contest between committees or lawyers as to who is entitled to represent them.

Mr. Burlingham's suggestion that the solution of the whole matter be left to the Supreme Court we wished to avoid if possible. It would mean, during the intervening months or weeks, while the Chief Justice or his referee was acting, that the defendants would be subjected to the pressure and uncertainty which they have endured so far, resulting in new and conflicting affidavits on an average of about once a week. *The Nation* has never questioned the competence of Mr. Pollak and Mr. Fraenkel to argue the appeal; but the question which lawyer legitimately represents the defendants remains in dispute, and we feel that it should be settled out of court if possible. In spite of Mr. Burlingham's letter, therefore, to which we have given the most respectful consideration, we reiterate our suggestion of a committee to settle the matter once for all, if this can be done. We are willing to consider any suggestions the I. L. D. may make for candidates to this committee; or to refer the discussion to any body which both the I. L. D. and Mr. Leibowitz can agree upon as impartial. *The Nation* takes no sides in this matter except the side of the defendants; it believes them entitled to the unchallenged services of the best possible counsel.

A FEW WEEKS AGO we made some irresponsible remarks about the theory that space is finite rather than infinite in extent. We have always resented the idea of being cabined and confined, and there seemed to us something slightly stuffy about a universe shut up within the bounds of a fourth-dimensional sphere. We have, however, just been reminded by the second and successful attempt to cast the 200-inch mirror for the projected telescope on Mount Palomar in California that space, though perhaps finite, is nevertheless large enough to be well ventilated. The new reflector, twice the diameter of that in the largest existing telescope, is expected to penetrate three times as far and to pick up nebulae 900,000,000 light-years away. Inasmuch as light travels some 500,000,000 miles in an hour, we haven't the space to set this distance down in miles, but it makes the universe at least something more than that nutshell which Hamlet regarded as the equivalent of infinite space.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Social Plan for the United States

WE greet with enthusiasm the announcement made by Mary van Kleeck at the International Industrial Relations Institute that a group of technicians are already at work on a social-economic plan for raising the standard of living of the American people. The personnel of the new group has not been disclosed, but it is said to include experts from the fields of architecture, engineering, economics, education, and public health. The fact that the group is not working under the auspices of the government or any of the more conservative foundations, while it may be an embarrassment financially, is perhaps the best guaranty of independent and constructive thinking. Unhampered by the necessity of compromising with existing political and economic interests, it will have a free hand in determining the productive possibilities of the American economy and the goals for progressive political action. By focusing attention directly on the problem of improving standards of living, it should prove even more useful than the survey made by the Brookings Institution or that recently conducted by Harold Loeb.

While the I. R. I. group is not committed to any specific economic or political program at present, it begins, rightly we believe, by challenging the prevailing theory that our poverty is the result of abundance. Actually, of course, we are faced by a shortage rather than a surplus. The Department of Agriculture has estimated that if each person in the United States were to have a "liberal" diet, containing all the necessary elements of nutrition, it would be necessary to increase the 1929 production of milk by 53 per cent, of butter by 108 per cent, of leafy green and yellow vegetables by 79 per cent, of citrus fruits by 84 per cent, and of eggs by 43 per cent. Some additional production of lean meat is also indicated, though there could be a substantial decrease in the output of the cheaper starches and fats. To meet the full food requirements of the American people would require approximately 40,000,000 acres more than were utilized in 1933. Curiously enough, while the government itself was putting out the statistics showing this shortage, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was engaged in a plan for a further reduction in acreage of precisely this amount—40,000,000 acres.

In the other spheres of our national economy the deficit of production is even more appalling. A large but unknown proportion of our houses are unfit for human habitation. This is true not only in the cities but also in mining communities, mill villages, and agricultural regions. To provide adequate housing for all the people of the United States within the next ten years would tax our vaunted productive resources to the limit, if indeed it could be done within that period. A serious shortage exists even in cotton textiles. But the deficiency is most critical, of course, in the development of education, public health, and the arts and sciences. In the face of an increase of 24 per cent in high-school enrolment in the past few years, the number of teachers and school administrators has actually decreased. Thousands of rural schools have been completely closed, and at least 2,000,000 children deprived of the education required by law. The inadequacy of medical care, even in times of prosperity, has become a national scandal. The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care showed that families having an income of less than $3,000 annually were obtaining less than half the medical attention they should receive, while preventive public-health service is almost non-existent. Similarly, the dearth of cultural and recreational opportunities for families of moderate income in this country would seem incredible to the modern Russian, German, or Scandinavian.

How long it would take, even under favorable political conditions, to increase production sufficiently to give the American people a "liberal" standard of living is, of course, difficult to determine. The I. R. I. research group believes that it would require a year to bring farm and industrial production back to the level of 1929. Assuming the plan in actual operation, at least three more years would be needed for exploration and research "to enable the collective group of workers, including scientists and technicians, to begin the period of expansion." The next six years would be devoted to expansion, but no prophecy is made as to how much progress might be expected in this time.

Preliminary indications of what this program would involve are available only with respect to agriculture. It is estimated that a mere beginning in the production of the necessary crops could be made during the one-year emergency period, and that at least three years would be necessary to increase the amount of milk so that it would be sufficient for the needs of a "liberal" diet. In the case of citrus fruits an even longer period might be required. Whether the increase in agricultural production would bring larger returns to the farmer depends of course on the correlation of the agricultural plan with that for increasing the productivity of industry. One of the most immediate needs of the agricultural population, particularly in the South, is adequate housing. Obviously this will require time, but it has been suggested that in the interval fabricated houses might be built on a temporary basis which would at least allow more comfort than is now possible. Even a longer period would probably elapse before educational and cultural needs could be fully met, although the employment of the present supply of idle teachers would go a long way toward remedying the existing deficit.

Lest fancy and enthusiasm take us too far astray, however, it is necessary to realize that more than lack of a plan stands between the United States and the type of society which the planners envision. Planning itself is not a panacea for the difficulties of the modern world. As a technique it possesses great potentialities, but there is no guaranty that it will be utilized for social ends. It may be used either to coordinate the activities of men in their common interest, or to tighten the strangle-hold of unscrupulous interests. In other words, the problem of power must be solved before true social planning can be brought into operation. But meanwhile much profitable exploratory work can be done, and if the planners can show us clearly enough the possibilities which lie before us, the problem of power should be easier of solution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Security or War in Europe

THE past few weeks have found Pierre Laval taking up Barthou's unfinished program for the encirclement of the Third Reich. As a first step he has sought to persuade Warsaw and Berlin to reconsider their rejection of the proposed Eastern Locarno. In much the same language as that used by his predecessor, the French Foreign Minister has asked Germany, somewhat pointedly, whether it intends "to subscribe to or avoid [its] European duty." This duty, he hastened to add, lies in the preservation of existing frontiers. In his plea for a general non-aggression pact M. Laval has, of course, the full backing of the Soviet Union, which was among the first to suggest agreements of this type. He also has the support of the British government, which, although not directly involved, has instructed its diplomatic representatives to use their influence in favor of the project. Recent revelations of the strength of the German air force have undoubtedly sharpened Britain's interest. Despite the assistance of the other leading Powers, however, the French must look upon this renewed invitation to the Reich more as a means of embarrassing Hitler than as a serious attempt to win his acceptance. The *Führer* is placed in a position where to spurn a pact pledging mutual non-aggression will be construed as evidence of aggressive intent, but approval would involve repudiation of an important part of his avowed program. Under the circumstances the chances are overwhelming that Germany and Poland will both reject the proposal. Poland, while not allied with Germany, obviously neither desires nor dares to court Hitler's displeasure.

In case the Eastern Locarno collapses, M. Laval will have an additional incentive for pushing negotiations with Italy, where once more the outlook appears promising. Agreement is reported to have been reached already on the majority of the issues between the two countries, including Italy's claims in Libya and Tunis and the troublesome question of naval parity. In each case France appears to have given way at least in part to long-standing Italian grievances. Still unsettled, however, is the even more difficult problem of Italy's relationship to Austria. While France would naturally be inclined to support the Italian government in its self-appointed task of preserving Austrian independence, to pledge such backing would alienate the Little Entente, and thereby destroy the very foundations of the French security program. The situation has not been improved by the filing of the Jugoslav protest to the League of Nations charging the connivance of Hungary in the assassination of King Alexander. Immediately upon receiving news of the protest, Premier Gömbös of Hungary left for Austria on a "hunting trip," and it is expected that as a result of his prowess both Austria and Italy will support Hungary when the question comes up for discussion before the League. Until this difficulty is somehow bridged—and no one sees just how this can be done—the Franco-Italian agreement will remain uncompleted.

Meanwhile there is the question of the Saar, with the plebiscite now scarcely a month away. The agreement signed at Rome on December 3 by representatives of Germany and France will undoubtedly do much to relieve existing tension. Arrangements have been made which will enable Germany to pay for the mines without additional strain on its meager gold reserves, and in exchange for this concession the Reich has agreed to respect all rights acquired by the inhabitants of the Saar with respect to social insurance, and to refrain from discrimination on account of race, religion, or political belief. Yet encouraging though this agreement is, it can scarcely be said that all danger of conflict has passed. Certain details regarding the payments remain to be worked out, while other important points have been completely ignored. Although Germany is almost certain to obtain a majority in the Saar as a whole, what will happen in case part of the territory votes to remain under League control? Is it not still possible that France may feel called upon to suggest that the district be divided in order to carry out the "will" of the electorate? That France has not given up hope of influencing the poll was indicated, indeed, by Laval's repetition of the previous announcement that another opportunity will be given the Saar to vote on union with Germany in case it decides to retain League control in the forthcoming plebiscite.

Before this vote is taken, France will doubtless seek to make certain that the encirclement is complete on the East as well as on the West. Germany's refusal to join an Eastern Locarno would make an international understanding the more imperative. Whether this will take the form of a military agreement between France and the Soviet Union, as M. Archimbaud hinted, or merely the development of existing non-aggression pacts is an open question. Some arrangement for Soviet adherence to the original Locarno treaty in exchange for French support of an Eastern non-aggression pact appears most likely. While this step would differ from a pre-war alliance by being incorporated within the framework of the League peace machinery, it savors enough of the old Triple Entente to raise the question whether it would not in fact help to perpetuate the war system. Yet what alternative is there? If the situation is merely allowed to drift, the drift will inevitably be to war. Clearly there is no guaranty that a conflict can be avoided through dependence on international action, but the active cooperation of the two most powerful countries in Europe might at least postpone the débâcle long enough to give the forces of peace another opportunity to find some way of escape from the existing impasse.

Health Insurance

THE President's promise that legislation for compulsory health insurance will be pressed in the new Congress indicates how far and how fast we have traveled. Only two years ago this month the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care completed its now famous report. It was greeted with general public approval and with the unanimous and violent opposition of organized medicine. At the meeting called to make it public, advance proofs of Dr. Morris Fishbein's editorial in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* were distributed to the assembled newspapermen. Dr. Fishbein said that the committee's program would mean "the destruction of private practice," and that it was backed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by forces "representing the great foundations, public-health officialdom, social theory—even socialism and communism—inciting to revolution"—surely one of the most surprising united fronts on record! Incredible though it now seems, the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care advocated, not compulsory insurance, but merely voluntary arrangements by groups of patients and doctors to meet the costs of medical and hospital care through small fixed annual payments by all who subscribed instead of in large and unexpected amounts by those who happened to be ill. Thereafter any attempts by the public to budget the cost of sickness were scornfully opposed as "socialized medicine" by this most bourbon of the professions. With the single exception of the Michigan State Medical Society, not one plan has been put forward officially by American physicians to protect the public from the economic hazards of illness—and themselves from the notorious insecurity of their own incomes.

Today Dr. Fishbein and his confreres are sitting on the sidelines watching a procession pass them by which they themselves should have led. They have painfully admitted the possibility that some degree of socialization is inevitable, but its form and manner of introduction are being determined by their old opponents. Two of the leading figures on the staff of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care—Edgar Sydenstricker and I. S. Falk—have been chosen by the President's Committee on Economic Security to prepare the official report on health insurance. When they began work two months ago it seemed likely that this subject would be left out of the Administration's program for social security. Although the President's original speech on security mentioned health insurance, Administration spokesmen had said less and less about it and more and more about unemployment insurance. Last June the American Medical Association passed a resolution declaring that "the immediate cost [of medical service] should be borne by the patient able to pay at the time the service was rendered"—a flat denial of the principle of insurance. Following this, individual members of the profession tried to convince the President and members of the Cabinet committee that the great majority of doctors were opposed to health insurance. The Administration's subsequent hesitation and hedging brought an unusual number of letters to the President and his advisers from influential laymen and a few doctors urging that health insurance be kept in the program. The President's latest statement to his advisory committee made it clear that it is still there, though perhaps not in quite as positive a form as many of us would like.

As a matter of fact, health insurance is the most immediately practicable and financially possible form of economic-security legislation. Sickness, because it is more predictable than unemployment, is more readily insurable. Then, too, health insurance calls for no great outlay of money. It would merely spread the costs of existing medical and hospital facilities thinly and evenly over the bulk of the population instead of placing the burden on the weakened shoulders of those who are ill at a time when they are least able to bear it. The arguments for immediate health-insurance legislation are unanswerable. Sickness comes like a thief in the night to all of us—employed or unemployed—and robs us of our security. That protection against this hazard should have been so long delayed in the United States is a shocking example of our social immaturity.

A Respectable Dramatist

EVERY newspaper reader now knows that Sir Arthur Pinero is dead at the age of seventy-nine, but it is doubtful whether one in twenty-five could have told you two weeks ago that he was still alive. For the twenty years between 1890 and 1910 he was probably the most famous dramatist writing in the English language, and one or two of his plays were treated by anthologists as though they were already classics. Yet except for a Players' Club revival of "Trelawny of the Wells" he has not been played in New York for ten years, and those who write or talk about the history of the modern drama remember him with difficulty. In its obituary notice the London *Times* treated him with the respect due to a literary man who had received a title, but it also damned him in a sentence whose mildness does not conceal its sting: "He possessed a remarkable gift of setting a spark to polite controversy, but when he shocked his countrymen he shocked them within the range of their pleasure."

Sir Arthur was stagestruck from youth, when he deserted his father's profession, the law, to become an actor, and he belonged to that large class of second-rate dramatists who write plays because they want to write plays rather than because there are any particular stories they want to tell or themes they want to develop. Between 1891 and 1912 he was the author of more than thirty-five pieces of various sorts, but he won his greatest fame with dramas like "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," in which the materials of the new "problem play" were watered down until today they could be digested by the most delicate stomach.

All pamphleteering tends of course to go out of fashion pretty rapidly. As that inveterate moralist Bernard Shaw once pointed out, a work of art dealing with morals is bound to age more rapidly than one dealing with the passions which change so much more slowly than moral ideas do. But Pinero chose to build upon sands by comparison with which our conception of morality is a rock. He chose, that is, to make his problems problems in convention instead of in morality. "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," for instance, deals with the female outcast to whose defense there rushes a gallant gentleman determined to reestablish her in respectable society. But Pinero never grasped the fact that such a woman was interesting to the more vigorous writers of his day for one of two reasons: either because they were interested in the psychology of the eternal harlot or because they saw in the social outcast a type of the rebellious modern woman. He, being too conventional to be moral, saw her only as the sentimental prostitute of the "Camille" tradition who desires nothing except respectability and who considers her marriage a failure because the curate refuses to call. Taking such a theme, Shaw or Ibsen would have made the problem center about the question whether or not it was worth while to try for the sake of love, or liberty, or honesty to get along without society's approval. Pinero never considered that problem because he never understood its bearing upon either conduct or art. For him convention was morality. His reward was to be successful while Shaw and Ibsen were still the exclusive possession of a few. His penalty was to be forgotten by a generation which learned from the two stronger men to make a distinction between righteousness and respectability.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

Propaganda in the Movies

FROM the librarian of a public library in a sizable New England town comes the following letter:

> Do you know of any way in which an individual can make an effective protest against the military propaganda going on in the movies? I happened to see a film supposed to celebrate Armistice Day. It pictured various prosperous-looking men who were asked if, when we have another war, they would fight again. They were all World War veterans and a husky-looking lot, with the exception of one hospital group, and even there the reply was decidedly "Yes." The only one who declined was a miserable-looking creature who replied, "No, what the hell did I get out of it?" Following this display were pictures taken at West Point, obviously showing the brighter side of military training and accompanied by spirited music that would set one's feet marching. I suppose these films were shown throughout the country, and I wonder if there is any way of combating such suggestions to our growing youth.

I sympathize deeply with the writer. I do not go to the movies very often, but not in a year have I seen a newsreel which did not play up the military or the navy. I have never seen a Hearst movie yet that did not contain deliberate propaganda of this kind. The last time I went we were shown a fleet of submarines maneuvering on the Pacific Coast in preparation for the defense of the country, obviously from the wicked Japanese. I saw the worst piece of propaganda I have ever seen some two weeks ago when the pictures of three recent criminals, or alleged criminals, were shown. It was stated that all three of these men had been in jails or insane asylums, and the voice behind the films enunciated the theory that we were emptying our jails and insane asylums in order that their inmates might continue to commit horrible crimes. There was no explanation as to who stood behind this piece of propaganda. It was not news. It had no scientific background nor did it cite any authorities. It was actually a direct argument that if any man ever got into jail or into an insane asylum, he should never be released. I do not see how anything could have been more misleading or more brutal, or for that matter less practical. For of course, if all offenders were to be kept in jail for life lest they commit another crime, we could not begin to build penitentiaries fast enough, or insane asylums either.

How can we protest against outrages like these and the steady propaganda of the militarists? I do not see how the individual can do anything more than write his protest to the owners of the films and to the newspapers, and arrange mass-meetings to discuss the matter. I am as always opposed to censorship of any kind by any officials. The laws concerning obscenity are quite sufficient to protect us on that side, but when it comes to suppressing propaganda that my correspondent and I do not like, we have no more right to ask it than the militarists have the right to demand that our propaganda for peace shall be barred from the films. It may be replied that the imperialists and militarists and their friends control the movies and the radio, and our crowd do not. I cannot see that that is a convincing argument. It ought to stimulate us to try to get our material into the movies and on the radio. In the latter field particularly we should work to build up a chain which will some day give us liberal stations all over the country comparable to WEVD in this city, with its admirable readiness to serve all liberal, progressive, and humanitarian causes. I do not deny that the mind of the American people may be poisoned by an overwhelming propaganda for militarism, for war, and for all its concomitants before we can effectively counter, just as Hitler poisoned the minds of the German people and generally fooled the bulk of them. But as I have said, that is a risk we have to run, and not only in regard to militarism. We may soon find ourselves facing a tremendous fascist propaganda. There is perhaps a scintilla of truth in General Smedley Butler's charges that people are toying with the idea of starting a fascist movement in the United States. Lawrence Dennis is on the platform all the time urging the fascist cause and perhaps preparing himself to be the Sir Oswald Mosley of the United States.

We can only hope to defeat the fascists by vigilance and a convincing defense of our democratic institutions. If we cannot make that defense we shall pay the price. Similarly, in regard to peace and disarmament, I think that we are making steady progress despite all the discouragements and the activities of the admirals and generals, plus the Hearsts and their ilk. I believe that if you could win the confidence of those people they would admit to you that they are in a blue funk about the progress of the peace movement, and their sole hope is in Franklin Roosevelt's devotion to the fleet. Certainly no propaganda that they can put out can possibly offset the revelations of the Nye committee in regard to the activity of those "merchants of death," the munitions makers. I believe that the country is ready not only for the control of the munitions traffic by a world commission as proposed by our representatives at Geneva, but for some drastic legislation here at home. In this connection how gratifying it is to have Lammot du Pont's letter to Senator Nye! He is ready to have excess war profits eliminated and to do away with the international trade in arms, "if that is a desirable aim" (!). He is even ready for strict governmental control. Well, apparently Davy Crockett's coon is coming down from the tree.

I am afraid I haven't given much consolation or encouragement to my correspondent. We have very few means of making our protest heard in such matters, and those few are pretty generally known. Perhaps we might have a statute compelling those who put over a piece of outright propaganda to state who is behind it, but even there the difficulties of defining propaganda, and of drafting a statute which would not do more harm than good, are very great.

Oswald Garrison Villard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Year of Legal Liquor

By H. L. MENCKEN

THE extraordinary thing about the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment is how little difference it has made. I know for a fact that the prohibition brethren looked for a gaudy saturnalia of boozing, very useful to their cause, and I suspect that many of the brewers, distillers, and vintners entertained the same beatific vision. But, as everyone knows, there has been nothing of the sort. On the contrary, the country has taken the change quietly, and if its habits have been modified at all it is in the direction of a greater abstemiousness. The cocktail is everywhere under competition from milder apéritifs, and there is so little call for strong beer that most of the brewers are holding their alcohol content at 3.6 per cent.

The demand for each and every variety of alcoholic beverage seems to be less than the supply. The new distilleries that were set up in haste following repeal are finding marketing a difficult problem, and many of them are already operating on part time. The wine dealers, whether they handle California wines or are importers, have larger stocks in hand than they can sell. And the brewers, always the whipping-boys of the booze business, go to bed at night hugging the clammy fact that the per capita consumption of malt liquors is still hardly more than a third of what it was in 1909-13.

It is not difficult to find reasons why the country has thus failed to go on the expected jamboree. One of the most obvious is a kind of reaction from the effects of prohibition itself. That the Eighteenth Amendment was a failure is now admitted by everyone, but let us not forget that in large areas it reduced the supply of strong drink materially, and that in all areas it made getting the stuff somewhat onerous and hazardous, and raised the price. Thus drinking became a pursuit that was at once exciting and expensive, and engaging in it was public notice that the practitioner was both a bold and saucy fellow, and one capable of what Thorstein Veblen used to call conspicuous waste.

If repeal had made drinking cheap and at the same time preserved something of its exhilarating naughtiness, there would have been a great rush of customers, and the melodramatic dreams of the prohibitionists might have come true. And if it had made drinking lawful but kept it very expensive, the same effect might have been produced. But what it actually achieved was a destruction of both motives for excess. At one stroke taking a drink became as banal an act as having one's shoes shined, and simultaneously the price dropped far enough to discourage the ostentatious without going far enough to inflame the thrifty. So the demand quickly settled down to parity with the actual national appetite, which turned out to be very moderate.

How did it become so moderate? Here again, it seems to me, we may seek a cause in the effects of prohibition. The kind of boozing that the Volstead Act fomented was so reckless and so plainly dangerous that it alarmed wets as well as drys, and they emerged from the nightmare in a prudent and even cautious mood. That mood is still upon them. There is a general sense of relief that the provocations of the thirteen dismal years are no more, and along with it goes a general inclination to deal with alcohol warily. Thus the very failure of prohibition helped to achieve one of its objects.

The present taxes on alcoholic beverages were fixed by politicians seeking money to spend, not by statesmen seeking the public welfare, and in more than one way they are arbitrary and absurd. Nevertheless, taking them together, there is a rough approximation to wisdom in them, for they have reduced the cost of drinks without making them too cheap. The chief defect in them is in the Liquor Taxing Act of January 11, 1934, which lays a tax of $5 a barrel on beer. In addition, there are State taxes in most of the States, and brewers and distributors have to pay heavy license fees, and to operate their establishments under rules which greatly augment the expense.

The net result is that the commoner varieties of lager beer, which used to go to the retailer at $7 or $8 a barrel, now cost him $12, and he is quite unable to serve a sizable schooner at a nickel. Inasmuch as millions of the votes against the Eighteenth Amendment were piled up on the promise that the old-time schooner would return, there would seem to be some deceit here, and the lowly have a just grievance against the Brain Trust. The more solvent have a grievance too, for the finer brands of American beer now sell at from $21 to $25 a barrel, and the half-liter mug that used to be 15 cents is now 25 or 30. The imported beers are drunk only by beer fanatics in the higher income-tax brackets, for they lie under a customs duty of $1 a gallon or $31 a barrel, and bring 50 cents a half-liter over the bar.

The American brewers hope to induce Congress to reduce the internal-revenue tax, and it seems probable that they will succeed. In the golden days before the war it was but $1 a barrel, and the national consumption was twenty gallons per capita. It was raised to $1.50 in 1914, to $3 in 1917, and to $6 in 1919. It dropped to $5 last January, but it is still too high to produce the maximum revenue. If it were reduced to $3 the five-cent schooner would come back, the national consumption would be doubled or tripled, and the Treasury would get many millions more from beer than it gets now.

Moreover, this increased consumption would tend to diminish the use of hard liquors. The present supply of the latter comes mainly from lawful distilleries, but there is still some bootlegging, and Joseph H. Choate, Jr., director of the Federal Alcohol Control Administration, has been breaking into the papers of late with plans to put it down. The sensible scheme would seem to be to reduce the tax on whiskey and its congeners to such a point that bootlegging will be made unprofitable, and yet keep it high enough to make hard liquors more expensive than light wines and beer. Whether or not it is possible mathematically to attain both objects remains to be seen.

The present internal-revenue tax on still wines—10 cents a gallon on those showing less than 14 per cent of alcohol by volume, 20 cents on those showing from 14 per

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cent to 21 per cent, and 40 cents on those above—is certainly not burdensome, but for other reasons the revival of the wine trade has languished. The chief of these reasons is that most of the American growers continue to imitate European wines and brands, instead of developing varieties of their own. Thus American wines strike most persons as bogus, or, at all events, as second-rate, and it will probably be a long while before we reach even the moderate pre-war consumption of 0.6 gallons per capita. As for foreign wines, the duty of $1.25 a gallon and the low purchasing power of the boloney dollar combine to put them out of reach of all save the relatively rich.

The prohibitionists got so dreadful a beating in 1932 that they have not yet recovered from it. Some of them, led by Deets Pickett, chief torpedo of the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, argue sadly that "the drink problem is now a problem in psychology," and that what is needed to solve it is a campaign of education. To this end they begin reassembling the somewhat frayed and dubious statistics that used to be their chief glory, and make efforts to arouse the evangelical churches. But the response seems to be poor, and they are very short of money.

Bishop James Cannon, Jr., takes a somewhat different line. He believes that the Eighteenth Amendment is out of the Constitution to stay, but he plans to tempt Congress with a new amendment giving it "power to enact uniform laws restricting or prohibiting the traffic in alcoholic beverages." This amendment, however, is not likely to make much progress, for its obvious effect would be to throw the liquor question into every Congressional campaign, and so provide life meal-tickets for demagogues on both sides. Whether or not the bishop still has any considerable following among his fellow-Wesleyans I don't know. Some time ago they exiled him to California, the Methodist Devil's Island, and in other ways showed a lamentable falling off of their old confidence in him. But at seventy he is still full of malicious animal magnetism, and it would be a mistake today, as it was in 1919, to underestimate his horse-power.

Most of the other eminent fuglemen of the dry millennium have turned to other branches of moral endeavor—for example, the crusade against lubricious movies, the Boy Scout movement, the New Deal, and the war against war. Others have simply retired to lick their wounds. Colonel Patrick H. Callahan of Louisville, the only Catholic prohibitionist ever exhibited before multitudes, has sought consolation in the Thomistic metaphysic, and almost alone among the apostolate, maintains his serenity. Some time ago he was arguing that prohibition was so nearly dead that in order to revive it some other name for it would have to be invented. But so far he has not suggested one.

The decision of a few States—for example, Kansas, Alabama, and North Carolina—to stay dry has heartened the drys a bit, but also spoiled some of their ammunition. They used to argue that if the Eighteenth Amendment were repealed these enclaves of virtue would be flooded with booze from the wet States. But nothing of the sort has happened. The simple truth is that the wet States are now more sober than they were before 1920, and that most of the really heavy and hoggish boozing is going on in the dry States.

The President vs. the President

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

Washington, December 3

WE are passing through one of our amazing periods of not knowing what is going to be the national policy. It is amazing because Washington is the best-reported capital in the world, and Washington correspondents stand head and shoulders above news gatherers in other countries. It is amazing, not because these correspondents do not find out, but because they cannot. Only one man in Washington could tell them, and he will do so when he is ready.

There is nothing new in this dependence on a single ultimate source of knowledge. It has been the procedure under the New Deal all along. All major decisions are made by the President. He is surrounded by a group of men who develop tentative policies, some tending in one direction, some in another. These are canalized into the White House, and ultimately the President chooses. He may accept one plan or another, or he may combine them. And while he is making up his mind, he will talk to some callers in one vein and to others in another. His callers believe he indicates a state of mind which they can interpret positively. Their interpretations are passed on to others, and get into print. But other callers make different interpretations which likewise get into print. The country is flooded with contradictions.

The news gatherers of Washington tap a wide range of confidential knowledge of what the President and his advisers are saying. Confidences are kept, but the deductions from them get published. Deduction is one of the tools of the journalist. He can read a tendency from the report of a conversation. He can read still more from a final decision on a secondary matter. Much of the time he is trying to answer the question everyone in the country is asking: Which way is the President going? When there is no change in the general direction, reporting here is a simple matter. In no other world capital are key men so accessible; nowhere else do they talk so frankly. The President sets the pace, and his advisers, with only a few exceptions, follow it, though not with his genius. But when a change is going to be made and still is to be clarified—perhaps even in the President's own mind—Washington reporting breaks down, and a whole continent is in doubt. There was such a time when the deflation of the NRA set in, and it lasted until after General Johnson was deposed. The reconciliation between the President and business began a new period of uncertainty. It promises to last at least until the President sends his message to Congress.

First hint of the change in direction by the Administration was the news of the dinners Professor Moley was having with business men in New York. It appeared to be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

confirmed by the President's treatment of Upton Sinclair during the campaign. The premonition appeared to turn into a fact at the bankers' convention in Washington. The President gave some indication to the bankers which led them to offer their cooperation, and induced the United States Chamber of Commerce to drop its badgering and opposition. The country thereupon was told that the President had "swung to the right." Just what this meant was variously explained. I know of two persons who understood from the President that he would swing back to the left after election. But business men accepted the change on its face value as indicating that the President was giving business a trial period during which he would not create uncertainties which might hamper the restoration of confidence.

But this reading was not clear for long. The "spenders" in the Administration had not been squelched. Secretary Ickes made no secret of his plans to ask vast sums for public works, including housing. The President was committed to end unemployment, and if business did not do it he was known to be ready to assume the task himself. He might even go to Congress in January and ask for authority to spend furiously at his own discretion. If this did not refute the reconciliation with business, it meant that business was on trial, and unless it cooperated, and effectively, the government was ready to take its place.

The Ickes-Moffett controversy brought the underlying contradiction into full daylight. Let no one imagine that Mr. Ickes was going against the President in proposing to build low-cost houses on government loans at 3 per cent. The President knew of the plan and tentatively approved it. Let no one imagine that Mr. Moffett supposed he was forced into public criticism of the plan just to call the President's attention to it. Mr. Moffett knew he was raising the bigger issue of the President versus the President.

No wonder that at this time business men began to ask what was real and what was imaginary in the announced reconciliation. Theodore Wallen in the New York *Herald Tribune* wrote: "The controversy over the Administration's recovery program has swung around to a point where it is up to the President to make the first move in the new 'understanding' he has reached with business and industry." Wallen conceived of the issue as between private and government spending. But it goes deeper. Business wants a moratorium on new-dealing. Thus for business men it was a bull point when the President was made to appear as having dropped old-age pensions from his social-security program for the next Congress. Conservative papers at once pointed to this as a concession to business. The President subsequently made it clear that he still wants this legislation.

For the present the President alone knows fully what the reconciliation with business means in terms of actual policy. Washington can only make conjectures. Some of these, however, are of substantial value. If it is true that the President assured the bankers he would not press now for a central bank, as is widely believed, he offset this by appointing Marriner Eccles governor of the Federal Reserve Board. The appointment caused grumbling, but was accepted with remarkably good grace. If the President has yielded on the central bank, he has conceded the shadow while gaining the reality of full government control of credit. Mr. Eccles is a "spender"; he believes there will be no trouble about raising all the money the government needs. With him at the helm the Federal Reserve Board becomes a government organ, if not institutionally, at least in a practical way. For months the President has aimed at getting a docile Reserve Board. Now he has it. From the standpoint of fundamental direction, the appointment of Mr. Eccles is one of the most significant steps the President has taken. Mr. Eccles is a left-winger in other matters than spending. He is a practical man, but his mind is not riveted down by tradition. He believes in social taxation. He believes in government initiative. He is not afraid to speculate even about the twilight of the profit motive in the modern world.

The rest of the data on which to judge the changes are characteristic of the Roosevelt method. Some items are concessions to business; some are continued new-dealing. Senator Thomas publicly advises his inflationists to "walk easy" for the present, saying there should be a waiting period for the results of "the President's mandate to business to improve conditions." Either Senator Thomas reads the facts by himself or he has been brought to heel. This cheering news for business is followed by authoritative announcement that the Administration will ask no new taxation. Restrictions on foreign-exchange operations are lifted. Donald Richberg makes speeches which send a chill down the spines of union leaders, and might mean that the Administration holds by minority representation in collective bargaining. The steel truce offer is urged on the A. F. of L. by the Administration.

But for each move in one direction there is one of an opposite trend. The Department of Justice comes to life and begins to prosecute the Houde case. Chairman Biddle of the Labor Relations Board begins action all along the line, obviously confident he will get enforcement through the help of the Attorney General. Social security is to be pressed in Congress both through unemployment insurance and old-age pensions; and there may be the beginnings of systematizing relief for dependent children, and even of health insurance. Miss Josephine Roche is named Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. The Ickes housing project is not vetoed. Harry Hopkins reaffirms the President's determination that every man shall be put to work. And the President himself, on the very day Chairman Farley pooh-poohs the possibility of his going to the left, speaks in the Tennessee Valley with the fervor of a crusader against the power interests. He follows this with publication of the Walsh report on the yardstick for power charges, and announces he will ask for ratification of the St. Lawrence treaty.

If this is a score sheet, business has not won the game. The final count nobody can know, for the scoring is not over. The truth is it will not be over as long as the President is in office. He conducts affairs in this way, with a concession to this pressure, a yielding to that, proceeding in a general direction of his own which marks him as a man of the left center. This has been said often but was doubted during the days of the bankers' convention. Now it emerges again as a useful gauge to measure the President himself. But it is not an altogether satisfactory one. In the matter of collective bargaining, for instance, is it "left center" to favor minority representation and the merit clause? Does the President still believe in them? I am told he has changed his mind, but I know that labor leaders are apprehensive. This is one of the chief issues which only time will clear up. Washington is a city of divine uncertainty, one reason perhaps why it is the most absorbing capital in the world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War Germs in the Danube Basin

III. The Nationality Problem

By OSCAR JASZI

THE dissolution of the Hapsburg monarchy resulted primarily from its inability to solve the nationality problem. Though Austria ultimately rejected the policy of Germanization, the dominance of the German element in the state and in the cultural and economic life of the people was so great that the other nationality groups felt themselves to be second-rank citizens and were increasingly resentful of their subordinate position. This resentment was aggravated in the other half of the Dual Monarchy by the chauvinistic nationalism of Hungary, which tried to assimilate the non-Magyar peoples even though they constituted practically half of the population. When Austrian statesmen endeavored to direct the monarchy toward a new system of federalism, it was the Magyar half of the country which categorically repudiated the proposal.

All the lesser nationality groups resented bitterly the policy of German domination and Magyar forcible assimilation. After the war they were successful in convincing world opinion that their natural rights could be guaranteed only if the new states built on the ruins of the Hapsburg monarchy were created according to the principle of nationality. As a result the new Czecho-Slovak and Polish states were established, and the Rumanians and Jugoslavs obtained almost complete unification. But even if the present official figures are accepted as correct, every observer must recognize that the new states are not composed of one homogeneous nationality but rather of a ruling nationality with many other important national groups. The framers of the peace treaties acknowledged this situation and compelled the new states to sign the so-called "minority treaties," in which they accepted the solemn obligation to safeguard not only human rights, but also certain minimum political rights for the minorities in those countries. Unfortunately the stipulations of the treaties were extremely vague and left open the road to various interpretations. It was generally hoped that these new nations which had suffered for generations under artificial assimilation would introduce a new ideology and practice into the handling of the nationality problem.

Some changes have in fact taken place. Austria has adopted a broad-minded policy toward its Magyar and Jugoslav minorities. President Masaryk has always emphasized the equal rights of all the national groups in Czecho-Slovakia. The National Party of Mr. Maniu offered to allow cultural autonomy to the national minorities in Rumania, and later Octavian Goga, the well-known Rumanian politician and poet, made a liberal compromise with the Hungarian minority. These policies, however, were difficult to carry out. In many regions an impatient nationalism broke out which tried to take revenge against the "former oppressors." Furthermore, the new states felt themselves endangered by irredentist propaganda directed from Budapest; in the first period of the new era there was an exodus of the former Hungarian state and municipal officials which constituted a kind of sabotage against the new governments and aroused much animosity. Finally, the position of the victors was and is far more difficult than that of the Germans and Magyars in the old monarchy, who were mostly confronted with a populace of inferior culture, whereas now in many cases the Germans and Magyars who have become minority groups represent a higher stage of culture than their political rulers. Practices which were bearable to illiterate masses and primitive mountaineers are now felt as degrading by a population which has been for centuries in a position of political and cultural dominance.

For a time it was possible to be reasonably optimistic about the outcome. President Masaryk and his collaborators showed great comprehension in defending the German minority from crude outbursts of popular passion against them. The President founded a Hungarian Academy and laid a wreath on the tomb of the Hungarian poet Madach, the author of the "Tragedy of Man," who is buried in Slovakia. A law defining the linguistic rights of the minorities was put in operation. Care was taken that the minority deputies in parliament and the minority schools should correspond in number to the minority ratio in the population. Also in Rumania and Jugoslavia signs were not lacking to justify the expectation that the spirit of a broadening democracy would eliminate the remnants of the old spirit of nationalism.

Last summer when I visited the succession states after several years of absence, I found a situation which convinced me that the nationality problem is not solved and that the methods now followed are inadequate to bring about peaceful cooperation. Even in Czecho-Slovakia, where general conditions are far better than elsewhere and where the leading statesmen are decidedly hostile to a policy of artificial assimilation, one can observe a growing spirit of nationalism. One hears many complaints. It is charged, for example, that by a method of gerrymandering the unity of certain districts is destroyed in order that the minority nationality may not reach that 20 per cent of the population which, according to the law, is necessary for the enjoyment of certain privileges in public administration; that the number of persons in the minority groups is intentionally diminished in the census returns by the refusal to recognize assimilated Jews as Hungarians or Germans and by their classification as a distinct nationality; that the minority schools are often not adequately equipped or staffed and that in the state schools there is discrimination between the children of the "ruling nation" and those of the minorities.

The Czecho-Slovak leaders deny these charges. They declare that the national minorities are treated according to law and their ratio in the population, and that the cultural situation of the Czechs and the Slovaks was so bad under the old monarchy that the new state had to satisfy their needs first of all. Whatever the real facts in this situation may be, it is surely a vicious circle which only a betterment of economic conditions and a more favorable international atmosphere can rectify.

In Rumania the situation is more alarming. The Magyars complain that the administration and judiciary are car-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ried on exclusively in Rumanian; that the Hungarian language is prohibited both in parliament and in the local assemblies; that some prefects do not allow the use of Hungarian city names in the newspapers; that the brutality of the gendarmerie makes public protests impossible. In the field of education it is charged that there is a growing tendency to weaken the Hungarian denominational schools; that in the so-called Hungarian sections of the Rumanian state schools an odious analysis of family names is carried on which excludes any child who has not a Magyar-sounding name or who is a Jew; that since the graduation examination is exclusively in Rumanian, not infrequently 70 per cent or more of the Hungarian students fail; that there is not a single Hungarian institution of higher learning—in the former famous University of Cluj (Kolozsvár) even Hungarian literature is taught in Rumanian. It is also said that agrarian reform was vitiated by an anti-minority bias; that Hungarian public servants are continually driven out of office on the pretext that they do not know the language of the state (it often happens that an older man must take a language examination six times); that especially in the railway and postal service most of the Hungarian officials and workers were dismissed, in many cases without pension; and that to comply with a recent law even private companies are obliged to employ Rumanians to at least 80 per cent. The list of complaints of the Germans in Rumania is perhaps less emotional but scarcely less extensive.

Leading Rumanians will either deny categorically most of these charges or at least substantially qualify them. They emphasize the immense growth of the Hungarian press in the new era. (There are at the present time 330 Hungarian newspapers in Transylvania, whereas in the Hungarian period there were only 50.) They lay stress on the remarkable rebirth of Hungarian literature in Transylvania, which is proudly recognized by Hungarian literary men. (In the last fifteen years, under Rumanian rule, more Hungarian books were printed than between 1867 and 1918.) They cite the fact that the Hungarian nobility in Transylvania were less severely expropriated than the *bojars* (the Rumanian upper class) in the Regat. They produce statistics showing that the existing Hungarian schools not only correspond to the Hungarian ratio in the population but surpass it. It would be unfair to pronounce a final judgment in this dispute. But even if one dismisses the greater part of the complaints as exaggerated or untrue, there yet remains a residue which fully explains the general despair and indignation.

In Jugoslavia the picture is even darker since public opinion has no outlet whatever under the dictatorship and there is no possibility for complaints which might be followed by remedies. The Hungarian Party and all cultural associations have been dissolved, and the government has designated as the Hungarian leader a young man who has no other qualification than his monocle. This official leader expresses on every occasion the enthusiastic gratitude of the Hungarian minority toward their benefactors, while exaggerated stories of ruling-class brutality circulate among the masses.

To estimate all these controversies justly is very difficult. In Hungary in the old days I was sometimes startled by the conviction of those who administered the system most cruelly that in no country did the minority groups have such a privileged position as in Hungary. They were touched by their own generosity toward the alien nationalities. Moreover, the war psychology which poisons the atmosphere of Central Europe distorts the entire situation. When Professor R. W. Seton-Watson in the last decades of the Hapsburg monarchy described the pathetic situation of the Slovaks, Rumanians, and Jugoslavs, he rendered a great service to those who seek the truth as the necessary preliminary of all serious work for peace. It would be extremely helpful if he would continue his great work and with his careful methods show how much is true and how much untrue in the complaints of the minorities in Rumania and Jugoslavia. He is perhaps the only man whose judgments would be accepted not only by foreign students but also by the Rumanians and Jugoslavs, who regard him almost as one of the founders of their state.

The causes of the tension, which no honest man can deny is increasing, I should describe as follows: (1) Post-war nationalism has become deeper and more extensive. Whereas before the war the nationality struggle was practically confined to the middle classes, it has now become a popular movement. Moreover, the former subject peoples have developed a vast middle class and the peasant masses have become a factor in the new states. The struggle is now not only for influential jobs, as in the past, but even for the position of a railway conductor or a custom guard. ((2) As the situation of the intellectual proletariat has become desperate, nationalist ideology has become increasingly an excellent pretext for excluding the intelligentsia of the minorities from as many jobs as possible. (3) There are thousands of persons, perhaps even a hundred thousand, whose citizenship is not yet determined and who live under the constant fear of expulsion. Applications for passports are severely and often unscrupulously handled. Not only are arrears in the payment of taxes regarded as sufficient cause for refusing a passport, but not infrequently political considerations, the suspicion of "irredentism," make the document unattainable. What this signifies for thousands of persons whose parents, children, or relatives live beyond the frontier a happy Anglo-Saxon will scarcely understand. I know a case where the government refused to give a Hungarian opposition leader a passport for his sick child, who bitterly needed the help of a well-known surgeon in Germany. (4) The ardor of Hungarian revisionism with its vagueness and emotionalism irritates the new states. Practically all or most of the press of Hungary is shut out because it treats the new rulers as intruders or robbers.

When I complained to a sincere leader of Rumanian democracy about the fate of the poor Hungarian railwaymen and postmen who are summarily dismissed on the pretense of their failure in "language examinations," his answer was: "Well, do you think we like such practices? But what is to be done? Every child knows that the present Hungarian government, pretending to desire peaceful revision, is continually preparing for war; the greater part of the Hungarian minority is emotionally under the sway of this propaganda. Are you demanding from us that we should engage spies against ourselves on the most important points of railway, post, and telephone communication, who at the first call would sabotage for the benefit of our enemies?"

The appalling truth is that all these new nations are living in a state of mental and moral mobilization, and the Hungarian minority is more and more regarded as a hostage in this preparatory war.

[*This is the third of a series of articles by Dr. Jaszi on the economic and political problems of the succession states. A fourth will appear in the issue of December 26.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Revolt in Canadian Politics

By FRANK H. UNDERHILL

THE Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada was born at a convention held in Calgary in August, 1932, and attended by farmer and labor groups from the four western provinces. J. S. Woodsworth was elected leader of the new movement; a federal set-up was agreed upon which enabled the constituent farmer and labor bodies in each province to retain their local identity and autonomy; and a short statement was drawn up demanding the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth in place of our present competitive capitalism. The movement did not call itself a party, since the constituent bodies were unwilling to merge into a new unitary organization; and it did not call itself socialist, because that name could arouse too easily the anti-red hysteria, which can be worked up as quickly in Canada as in the United States. Hence the clumsy title which was adopted and which has already been shortened by friends and enemies alike into C. C. F.

In the winter of 1932-33 the movement spread into Ontario, where it was joined not merely by the United Farmers of Ontario and by various political labor groups—who had not hitherto managed to cooperate with one another—but also by a considerable middle-class element. In Quebec some of the English-speaking labor groups of the Montreal district also joined. French Canada and the Maritime Provinces have provided hardly any recruits.

In July, 1933, when the first national convention was held at Regina, there was a representative gathering of delegates from all parts of Canada from Montreal west. The Regina convention adopted a complete federal constitution and issued an elaborate 4,000-word manifesto setting forth in detail a socialist program for the reconstruction of our economic institutions. The Regina manifesto stated its aims as follows:

> The C. C. F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a cooperative commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution, and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits. We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government based upon economic equality will be possible.

In general, it may be said that the approach to economic and political problems is social-democratic; the C. C. F. has been denounced from the beginning as reformist by the small but vociferous body of Communists in Canada.

In the year between the Regina convention of 1933 and the second annual convention at Winnipeg this last summer there were general elections in three of the nine Canadian provinces—British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Ontario. These elections furnished the first test of the voting strength of the new movement. In each of the three provinces the Conservative government which had been in power was swept from office by a landslide which brought the Liberals back with an enormous majority. No Conservative members survived in the two western provinces, but the C. C. F. captured only a handful of seats; in Ontario it got only one. The distribution of seats, however, was a grotesque distortion of the actual voting; this now happens regularly in our Canadian elections with the single-member constituency system. The C. C. F. won a third of the votes in British Columbia and a quarter in Saskatchewan. In Ontario internal quarrels just before the election had almost disrupted the new organization and had resulted in the retirement of the United Farmers, so that the C. C. F. ran candidates in only a few of the constituencies. Even so, it showed a voting strength in the main urban centers, and especially in Tory Toronto, which surprised the old parties. It should be added that in Alberta the United Farmers, who are a constituent body in the C. C. F. movement, have controlled the provincial government since the end of the war.

A radical movement in Canada suffers inevitably from certain inherent weaknesses. We have no American Revolution in our past. We have no radical tradition except that of sporadic outbursts of pioneer farmers against the tightening grip of capitalist business upon our economy. The long period of colonial subordination from which we are only just emerging has developed an anemic quality in all our political life; and ever since the "Family Compact" days of the 1830's our governing classes have shown themselves adept in dragging the red herring of British imperial loyalty across the trail whenever their position of control has been challenged. A movement with a program of national reconstruction must struggle against these obstacles. In addition, there is the division of the community into English and French—a division which intensifies all other sectional forces, and by offering magnificent opportunities for playing upon racial and religious passions tends to obscure economic realities.

As a new movement the C. C. F. suffers from chronic poverty, and as yet it has no central office with even the beginnings of a secretariat. The work of keeping the various provincial units in touch with one another is done by the annual conference, to which delegates make their way in spite of the great financial difficulties, and beyond this by the constant activity of the little group of C. C. F. members of parliament at Ottawa, who spend most of their time between parliamentary sessions on speaking tours and organizational work. The movement has to contend with a daily press which is almost unanimously hostile, and it is only slowly building up a weekly press of its own in the various provinces. It cannot become nation-wide in scope until it has made some real impression east of the Ottawa River. In the Maritime Provinces it has appealed so far without much success to a public which is the most hopelessly sectional in outlook in all Canada. In Quebec there have been signs that some at least of the influential members of the Catholic hierarchy would like to place it under a clerical ban.

More serious difficulties in the way of permanent success are the result of the weakness of the farmer and labor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movements in Canada. In the three prairie provinces the wheat farmers have built up for themselves a remarkably successful structure of cooperative marketing for both their wheat and other products. Their various pools have survived the worst buffetings of the depression and have retained their hold on their membership. The prairie farmers have shown a capacity for self-help and for genuine cooperation which make both their economic and their political experiments the most significant developments in Canadian democracy in our generation. But in Eastern Canada the farmers have shown no such capacity, and there the C. C. F. is correspondingly weak.

Canadian labor generally trails along behind that of the United States. Trade unionism is even weaker here than south of the border and it is broken up into more factions. For we have not only the A. F. of L. unions, which form the largest group of organized workers, but the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, which consists of independent national unions which think the A. F. of L. connection is injurious, and a third group of the Catholic unions of Quebec. Recently the Workers' Unity League organizers have been making progress; they are the only ones who have shown any militancy or any real drive to unionize the great unorganized masses of workers. As in the United States the A. F. of L. unions hold aloof from politics, and at present seem to be concentrating upon fighting the so-called red menace of the W. U. L. In the East the bulk of the workers are still voting Conservative in the English sections and Liberal in the French sections.

Since the C. C. F. thus lacks in both the agricultural and the industrial field the mass voting strength which the trade unions give to the British Labor Party, it has obviously little immediate chance of supplanting one of the old parties as the second party in the state. Undoubtedly many of its new recruits are very imperfectly instructed in the principles of socialism, and there is a good deal in the strictures of its left-wing critics who denounce it as muddle-headed in ideology. Still, when all its defects have been admitted, it remains the only organization in sight which has a chance of becoming a real mass movement that can appeal to the Canadian people in socialist language which they understand.

That the C. C. F. is making such an appeal much more successfully than the Socialist Party of the United States or any of its rival sects is shown by the tone of the Winnipeg convention of last summer. The American Socialist Party at Detroit concentrated most of its attention on enunciating a radical stand in opposition to war and fascism, to the alarm of many of its right-wing old-timers. The C. C. F. at Winnipeg took a strong stand against allowing Canada to be involved in the next imperialist war, but it clearly wasn't much worried about the menace of fascism. It devoted most of its time to the drafting of a manifesto on immediate policy for the next dominion election. Its leaders had come fresh from various provincial elections and were thinking about the technique of winning seats. They were thinking, that is, in parliamentary terms, because they felt that they could exercise considerable influence upon the next parliament.

As far as the immediate future is concerned, it is clear that the Liberals are going to win a great electoral victory in the next Canadian election. The decisive defeats of the Conservatives in the provinces make it certain that when Mr. Bennett goes to the country his party will be almost annihilated. The failure of his government to deal adequately with the depression and the accumulated resentment of thousands of ordinary citizens against his own personal arrogance and callousness will produce a landslide similar to that which brought the Hoover regime to an end in the United States. Canadians, like Americans, are fond of being on the winning side when they vote, and it is clear that most of them have not yet lost faith in the established economic order. Therefore most of those who want a change from the Bennett regime will vote Liberal rather than C. C. F., and the new movement can expect to have only a comparatively small group in the next House.

The program of the Liberals is as vague and indefinite as was that of Mr. Roosevelt before his election, and it requires a very great optimism to be able to believe that Mr. King will display any of the Roosevelt energy in office. The Liberals, in fact, are gambling on an automatic improvement in economic conditions which will render any definite governmental action unnecessary. Mr. King has talked a great deal about removing the shackles from international trade, but all past experience goes to show that Liberal tariffs, like Conservative tariffs, are made by the interests which benefit from them. Mr. King has denounced Mr. Bennett for setting up an executive dictatorship and has promised to restore parliamentary control over the administration, but this is just a fine nineteenth-century way of enunciating a policy of drift. He has also talked about the need for a partnership in industry of employers, workers, and the government—a subject on which the Liberal Party before it came into office in 1921 had a campaign plank which was conveniently forgotten during the years from 1921 to 1930. That a Liberal government in Canada would even try to control big business is highly doubtful. Apart from Mr. King's cloudy pronouncements on Industry and Humanity, most of the party stalwarts, under the vigorous leadership of the chief Liberal paper, the Winnipeg *Free Press,* are talking about the dangers of bureaucracy and regimentation and the need for individual liberty and private enterprise. Many a Liberal peroration in the coming election will be taken straight out of Mr. Hoover's book.

The Conservative government, having found that its simple recipe of a high tariff did not bring back prosperity, has recently been toying with the idea of codes and the other features of the NRA and the AAA. For the past year the public has been treated to a good deal of talk about Tory democracy and what it might accomplish. But recent events have thrown a vivid light upon the question of what interests really control the Conservative Party.

Last session Mr. H. H. Stevens, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, was instrumental in having a committee of the House of Commons set up to conduct a sensational investigation into the business practices of some of our leading Canadian industries. The revelations about low wages, wide price spreads, and the exploitation of both primary producer and ultimate consumer shocked the country. When the House rose it was agreed that the committee's work was so important that it should be continued after the summer by a Royal Commission, of which Mr. Stevens was to be the head. The Stevens probe had been directed mainly into the affairs of Canada Packers, which with Swift dominate the Canadian meat-packing field, the Imperial Tobacco Company, which has a near-monopoly control of tobacco, and the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two great Toronto department stores, the T. Eaton Company and the R. Simpson Company, which have branches or subsidiaries all across Canada. It was expected that the investigation was to go on to deal with the chain stores. But during the summer recess Mr. Stevens issued a pamphlet which dealt in very uncomplimentary terms with some of the highly respectable gentlemen who run these great corporations. Pressure was immediately put upon Mr. Bennett, chiefly by the Simpson Company, to discipline this dangerous minister.

The pressure was effective. Mr. Stevens has resigned both from the Cabinet and from the chairmanship of the Royal Commission. The internal crisis in the Conservative Party caused by these developments forms the current sensation of Canadian politics. Mr. Stevens is apparently going to lead a revolt within the party. He is not a radical in any real sense of the word. What he wants is an honest capitalism in which the small man will have a chance. He was originally induced to start his investigation by representations from retail merchants and from small manufacturers who were suffering from the pressure of the selling or the buying policy of the great department stores. His whole public appeal has been to the little business man who was being squeezed by the big fellow. This kind of appeal was one of the starting-points of fascism in Europe, but it is probably fair to say that neither Mr. Stevens nor any other prominent Canadian politician has read enough about the world in which we live to be aware of the analogy between Canadian and European conditions. In the meantime the quick success of the big-business interests in ousting him from a leading position in his party as soon as he became dangerous to them is eloquent testimony to the strength of monopoly capitalism in Canada. It only needs to be added that Liberal newspapers have been as emphatic as the Conservative ones in condemning Mr. Stevens for his unfair attacks upon these benevolent despots.

Any genuine attempt by the national government to regulate wages, prices, and labor conditions will require an amendment of our federal constitution, under which such powers at present belong to the provinces. Mr. Bennett has been trying to arrange a dominion-provincial conference to discuss this topic. But the provinces are proving very coy, and it is apparently going to be impossible to find a date at which all the prime ministers can meet in Ottawa. Most of the provinces are now under Liberal governments, and with a general election in the offing the temptation to play politics and to raise the good old Liberal cry of provincial rights against the Conservative dominion government is too strong to be resisted. Quebec especially, the chief Liberal stronghold, may be expected to indulge in another well-staged last-ditch struggle for the minority rights of the French Catholics; Quebec politicians have been winning elections on this cry ever since representative government was established.

In these circumstances the function of the C. C. F. is clear. First, it must drive home the fact that the provincial-rights issue is largely camouflage put up by our industrial and financial magnates. None of these worthy gentlemen want a national government with sufficient constitutional power to be able to interfere effectively with their own pursuit of profits. Secondly, the C. C. F. must try to educate the Canadian people in the lessons to be drawn from the failure of the Roosevelt experiment in capitalist planning.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter was recently asking one of his friends why he, the Drifter, had never become a major prophet or, for that matter, a minor one. For more years than he likes to remember he has held forth in this column upon the greatest variety of subjects, and while he has devoted a good deal of time to such things as the degradation of the American Apple Pie and the beauties of Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter as they have come along with pleasant regularity, he has also touched upon Injustice and the like. He has, besides, often felt that a Serious Purpose might be detected behind some of even his apparently frivolous pieces. Yet he looks in vain for recognition. No one engaged in canvassing the Great Minds on this topic or that ever thinks of asking his opinion. He does not even get the questionnaires which schools of education send to everybody else asking them to check the ten best movies on a list of two hundred or to rank Sophocles, Pirandello, Anne Nichols, Shaw, and Owen Davis in the order of their importance. Neither has he once had the pleasure of seeing in the newspapers a headline something like: Drifter Scores Crime. Calls Lawlessness Menace to Nation. Blames Church, State, School, Home, Movies, Jazz, Parents, and Toy Pistols.

* * * * *

THE Drifter and his friend agreed that the retiring nature of the former was not a sufficient explanation. It is true that he is of a retiring disposition, but that ought to make him the more impressive. Elijah (he believes it was Elijah) lived in a cave, and the Drifter would have no objection to being known as the Hermit of Vesey Street if that would help. But his friend says that it wouldn't and advances a general theory which seems important enough to be worth passing on to those who aspire to a greater influence than the Drifter has ever had. Nobody, says the friend, ever heard of a prophet who was not either a prophet of Utopia or a prophet of doom, and the trouble with this column is that it does not generally see the future as either rosy enough or dark enough. Your prophet, if he is not to remain without honor abroad as well as at home, has got to predict something startling. He must see either the Promised Land or Destruction just around the corner. He can't go about saying, "Hear ye, hear ye! Tomorrow is going to be only fair, in fact just about like today."

* * * * *

THE more he thinks about it, the more the Drifter is convinced that his friend is right. He has always realized that he was only a moderate in opinion, but he is about convinced that he has been too moderate for his own good in expectations too, and he promises to predict either doom or the New Day very soon now—as soon, at least, as he can make up his mind whether he thinks things from now on are going to be a whole lot better or simply terrible. And if he can't make up his mind in a reasonable time he is going to toss a coin. Probably it doesn't hurt a prophet much to be wrong anyway—provided only he can muster up enough good stirring prophecies of one kind or another.

THE DRIFTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

The I. L. D. Retorts

To the Editors of The Nation:

In the November 28 issue of your magazine appears an editorial, purporting to be a review of the Scottsboro case, which contains so many distortions of fact, so many outright untruths, not to speak of the contradictions within the article itself, that we feel compelled to ask you to print a correction of certain statements, and retraction of certain others which by their context become charges against this organization.

Examination of the files of *The Nation* discloses that its editorial policy throughout the case has been to discourage "mass protest." On this basis you supported the efforts of the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to take over the case from the International Labor Defense, and the position of Arthur Garfield Hays and Clarence Darrow in their attempts to oust the I. L. D. In the present editorial you say:

> There is small question that only the widespread publicity which the mass-pressure movement gave to the case could have produced this result [that the defendants are still alive after three and a half years]. There can be no doubt, however, that mass protest does, at a certain point, stiffen the resistance of the organized forces—in this case the courts of Alabama—against which it is directed.

You used this argument to attack the present tactics of the I. L. D. based on policies which have not changed since the beginning of the case. Permit us to ask the editors of *The Nation* the following questions: In their opinion, at what point does mass pressure become sufficient to cause *The Nation* to turn from its denunciation to the feeble straddle quoted above? Can the editors of *The Nation* name the precise point at which in their opinon mass pressure ceases to be beneficial to defense, and becomes harmful? What is the value of the opinion of editors capable of these inconsistencies?

You say "the question at issue is not the class struggle but rescue of the defendants from the electric chair." The issue of the oppression of Negroes is obviously an economic question. The charge of "rape" is one of the methods used to keep the Negroes in subjection, the Negro workers separated from the white workers. The master class of the South has doomed the Scottsboro boys to the electric chair in its struggle to maintain its supremacy. The struggle to save them cannot be separated from the class struggle. The class struggle and the rescue of the boys cannot be opposed to each other.

Perhaps one of the most revealing things about the *Nation* editorial is a matter of omission rather than commission. Nowhere in the entire editorial do we find any attack upon the State of Alabama or its courts or officials for their frame-up of the boys, or for their manner of conducting the trials.

You make the statement that "several hundred thousand dollars have been raised for propaganda" in the Scottsboro case. Such a statement can lead to no other conclusion than that the editors of *The Nation* have misstated the facts deliberately. The total amount of money raised in the Scottsboro defense is even now under $75,000. Two appeals to the Supreme Court of Alabama, with three records, numerous motions, and lesser briefs, four habeas corpus proceedings, one complete review by the United States Supreme Court and two now under way, and sums spent for relief to the prisoners and their parents and for "propaganda" amount to several thousand dollars more than has been collected. Without the "propaganda" the Scottsboro boys would not have been alive today, according to your own admission, and without it the huge amounts—between forty and fifty thousand dollars—which have been involved in purely legal expenses could not have been raised. A financial statement up to last spring showing a total of $55,194.32 raised and spent by the I. L. D. on the Scottsboro case was sent at that time to the editors of *The Nation*. When the editors of *The Nation* referred to "several hundred thousand dollars" they consulted no one connected with the I. L. D. nor even the material which had been sent them.

A fact on which *The Nation* was fully informed, or on which information was readily available, which is misstated in the editorial is the date when Mr. Leibowitz was notified that Walter H. Pollak had been retained with Mr. Fraenkel to carry the cases to the United States Supreme Court. That date was October 1, not October 4 as *The Nation* states. The latter was the date on which Mr. Leibowitz announced that he "had full charge of the case." On the previous day he had announced that he had "withdrawn" from it altogether.

The Nation suggests that the charge against the two "I. L. D. attorneys" for "attempted bribery" of Victoria Price may be well founded, and apparently puts credence in Mr. Leibowitz's assertion that their arrest was the cause of his "withdrawal." We understand that at least one editor of *The Nation* had been informed that the testimony at the preliminary hearing —transcript of this testimony was offered to the editor of *The Nation*—upon which they are being held for the grand jury was entirely the perjured testimony of Victoria Price, the very same witness whose lies are the basis of the prosecution against the Scottsboro boys. But this very pertinent fact was not mentioned in the editorial.

It would be interesting to know to whom Mr. Leibowitz "has declared he will . . . associate with any reputable counsel who will consent to serve, including Walter Pollak . . . " Mr. Leibowitz has never made this statement public, and has never made it to anyone representing the I. L. D. This is mentioned simply because of the bearing the answer may have upon the inspiration for the entire editorial in *The Nation*.

Finally let us deal with your "impartial" proposal for an "impartial" committee to go down and ask the Scottsboro boys whom they want to represent them. The proposal itself is one which, coming as it does at the end of a review of the Scottsboro case which is anything but "impartial," we cannot take seriously. This is all the more true because you suggest as "impartial" persons Arthur Garfield Hays and Morris Ernst, both outspoken in their enmity to the I. L. D. If a truly impartial and truly representative group were sincerely to attempt to put an end to the controversy opened by Mr. Leibowitz, we would be willing to cooperate, as we have always been willing to cooperate in any move to strengthen the defense of the Scottsboro boys. Under all circumstances we shall continue, as we have been doing during this controversy, to devote ourselves to the preparation of the best possible legal defense, and the best mass defense that it is possible to organize, in spite of disruptive tactics by the enemies of the Scottsboro boys.

New York, November 27

Anna Damon,
Acting National Secretary,
International Labor Defense

Club-swinging Policemen

To the Editors of The Nation:

Policemen in the larger American cities suffer from an aroused public opinion over their activities in hunger marches, labor disputes, and related "disturbances." There is an ever-widening breach between workers in private industry and policemen, who are public workers. For some unknown reason, in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dustrial workers do not consider policemen, men who are supporting families by taking orders from their superiors, as workers.

The governing factor in the behavior of police officers in labor demonstrations is not a strict and conscientious adherence to their sworn duty, but politics. Los Angeles, supposedly a hotbed of un-American activity, is one of the most conservative large cities in the United States. The influence of the Chamber of Commerce and kindred organizations has been sufficient to keep this an open-shop town. This influence has also been strong enough to keep members of the Los Angeles Police Department at work upholding "true American principles" by fighting hunger marchers, strikers, and so on.

The nineteenth-century plea for "less government in business and more business in government" is taken literally in Los Angeles. When the big moguls of business tell the "boys" in the City Hall that certain labor demonstrations will jeopardize their property, and that these demonstrations are ruining the morale of their employees, the demonstrations are not permitted. After serious labor disturbances, when many people, both reds and policemen, have been taken to the emergency hospital, always there has appeared a copy of a letter, received by the Chief of Police from one or more prominent business or civic leaders, commending the men of the department for their exemplary conduct in handling an alarming situation.

The policeman is not on the labor battle-front because of his ultra-conservatism, because of any anti-labor leanings, or because he believes in the suppression of the rights of the worker in order to facilitate the exploitation of the masses under the present system of private profit. He is there because the man from whom he receives his orders tells him to go or quit.

Los Angeles, November 15 A POLICEMAN

You Scratch My Back—

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I am ashamed to say that I "fell for" your postal card addressed to me presumably as a New Jersey user of gas and electric service and wasted 15 cents on the November 21 issue of *The Nation*. I also wasted time reading the article by McAlister Coleman—whoever he may be—entitled Jersey Power Costs Too Much. I find that it is just another muckraking article containing nothing that is constructive or of the slightest value.

It may interest you to know that as a consumer of gas and electricity in New Jersey I find the service very satisfactory and the rates fair. For every 15 cents paid the Public Service Corporation I receive infinitely greater value than is contained in the November 21 issue or, I presume, in other issues of *The Nation*.

New York, November 21 C. H. B. CHAPIN

[Mr. Chapin fails to remark that he is Secretary of the Empire State Gas and Electric Association.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A selection of letters commenting upon Mark Granite's proposal for the foundation of a United Liberal Party—published in last week's issue of The Nation—*will appear next week in this section.*

The first book frankly facing relationships *not even supposed to exist:*

The SEX LIFE of the UNMARRIED ADULT

EDITED BY IRA S. WILE, M.D.

The contributors include Margaret Mead, Robert L. Dickinson, Ernest R. Graves, Mary Beard, Robert Morss Lovett, Lorine Pruette, N. W. Ingalls, Ernest W. Burgess, Morris L. Ernst, and Horace M. Kallen.

320 pages. Large 12 mo.

This book answers, frankly and courageously, such questions as:

- What percentage of men and women have sex experience before marriage?
- On purely physiological grounds, is there any reason why temperate sex intercourse should be denied to the unmarried?
- What is the average normal periodicity of sex functioning in adults?
- What are the dangers to the unmarried couple in arousing, but not fulfilling, physical desire?
- What problems face young couples who delay marriage for economic reasons?
- Is the proportion of illegitimate births increasing despite widespread knowledge of contraception?
- Is homosexuality common among unmarried women?
- Is a marriage in which there has been pre-marital sexual intercourse more likely or is it less likely to go to smash?
- When does normal "sex play" impinge upon the abnormal?
- What percentage of unmarried persons indulge in autoerotic practices?
- Can fundamental urges be repressed without a deleterious effect on one's personality?
- Etc., etc.

Physicians and psychologists have given specific information and help to married persons with "legalized" sex lives. But this is the first authoritative, popularly written counsel to answer the problems of a group compelled to delay the legal solution of their difficulties.

✓ *"A much needed, candid, and sane discussion of one of the most important social and moral problems of the day. The book should create a real stir."* —HARRY ELMER BARNES

Please mail this to your bookseller or to: N

THE VANGUARD PRESS
100 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

Gentlemen—Enclosed please find $.....for.....copies at $2.65 each ($2.50 for each book plus 15 cents for postage and handling) of THE SEX LIFE OF THE UNMARRIED ADULT.

☐ Please send C.O.D.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE .....

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUTSTANDING NON-FICTION

By J. Salwyn Schapiro
CONDORCET AND THE RISE OF LIBERALISM

"Mr. Schapiro has written a beautiful book on Condorcet, one of the most important figures in the history of revolutionary thought. It should be in the hands of everyone who is trying to think and find his way in these troubled times."—*Charles A. Beard.* $3.50

Lincoln Steffens'
AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Equalled in vitality by no American biographical work since *The Education of Henry Adams.* Illustrated, $3.75

By Ernest Walsh
POEMS AND SONNETS

The only collection of poems by a man who has influenced many American writers. "I can recommend this book as experimental poetry of a quite engrossing kind."—*William Rose Benet, Saturday Review.* $2.00

By Dorothea Brande
BECOMING A WRITER

An enormously popular book, of a different kind from any other book on writing, which has been praised by critics, accomplished writers, and beginners. *Third printing,* $2.00

HARCOURT, BRAC
383 MADISON AVENUE

William Seabrook's
THE WHITE MONK OF TIMBUCTOO

A startling history with an eccentric hero—Pere Yakouba, the priest who turned layman to marry a black woman, and is today the virtual lord of the French Sahara. "A book to put on the same shelf with *Lawrence in Arabia* and *Arabia Deserta.*" *Illustrated,* $3.00

Aladar Kuncz's
BLACK MONASTERY

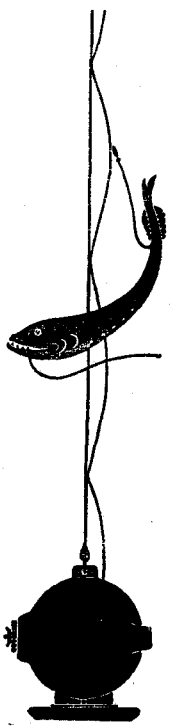
Ranked with Dostoevsky's *The House of Death* and Cummings's *The Enormous Room* among the great stories of imprisonment. "Indisputably one of the great memoirs of captivity, a book that without once raising its voice both thrills and touches."—*New Yorker.* $2.75

Lewis Mumford's
TECHNICS AND CIVILIZATION

Without question the major work by one of America's leading critics and historians. "It has given me greater pleasure than any book of its kind since Wells's and Huxley's *Science of Life."—Clifton Fadiman.* Illustrated, $4.50

A. Yarmolinsky's
brilliant biography
DOSTOEVSKY

A full narrative of the great writer's passionate, troubled life, and an evaluation of his art. It is a book which Lewis Mumford, with many other reviewers, calls "the most satisfactory biography of Dostoevsky that I know." Mr. Mumford goes on to say: "Since Dostoevsky's work anticipated symbolically the violences and disruptions of our present world, this new biography lends a special insight into the typical dilemmas of our own day." Illustrated, $3.75



Wi
HALF

To the literature of sc
here is a thrilling ad
by the man who kn
any man has ever kn
bathysphere and its
time the complete stor

The illustrations,
8

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AND COMPANY

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Henry W. Nevinson's
IN THE DARK BACKWARD

The fall of Troy, the field of Agincourt, the death of Byron, and many other evocations from the colorful pageant of history. The *N. Y. Times* rates it "a fascinating record—an uncommon book which will yield uncommon pleasure." $2.50

Matthew Josephson's
THE ROBBER BARONS

One of the most popular books of the year—the story of America's capitalists: Jim Hill, J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Jay Gould, Commodore Vanderbilt, and others. $3.00

Edited by Carl Van Doren
MODERN AMERICAN PROSE

Virtually a library in one big volume. A selection from the works of sixty American writers in the period 1914-1934; some of them are Sherwood Anderson, Van Wyck Brooks, Willa Cather, Dos Passos, Dreiser, Eliot, Halper, Sinclair Lewis, Lewis Mumford, Evelyn Scott, etc. The material includes sections from novels and biographies, several novelettes and short stories, studies in criticism, *What Price Glory?* in full, etc. 900 pages, $2.75

TODAY

n Beebe's
LE DOWN

t is also the literature of adventure, book of adventuring under the sea about deep-sea exploration than e book concentrates swiftly on the id dives, and relates for the first record-breaking dive to 3,028 feet.

rt, 363 pages of half tones and drawings and four colors. $5.00

NOVELS FOR GIFTS

By Margaret Irwin
THE PROUD SERVANT

A rich, romantic novel of old Scotland by the author of ROYAL FLUSH and "one of the most worthwhile novelists writing today."—*Herschel Brickell, N. Y. Post.* $2.50

By Kay Boyle
MY NEXT BRIDE

A new novel, the setting Paris, by this outstanding young American. It is marked by "magnificently effective portraits" and a style which "at its best is second to none in its sheer power of illumination."—*N. Y. Sun.* $2.50

By John O'Hara
APPOINTMENT IN SAMARRA

"If you want to read a book by a man who knows exactly what he is writing about and has written it marvelously well, read this."—*Ernest Hemingway.* $2.50

By E. H. Young
THE CURATE'S WIFE

"A wise, subtle and gentle book; humor runs all through it, just as humor runs all through life. It is so much a part of real life that one almost feels guilty in reviewing it. It is far too like reviewing a group of people whom one knows intimately."—*E. M. Delafield.* $2.50

Josephine Herbst's
THE EXECUTIONER WAITS

The novel which has been hailed by two leading reviewers as a Pulitzer Prize candidate, by *Time Magazine* as "one of the best U. S. novels of 1934." Not only as the second part of a trilogy which will undoubtedly be read and remembered as one of the major works of fiction of the 1930's, but as an independent novel of dramatic proportions, it is being discussed and praised as only a very moving and eloquent piece of writing *can* be discussed and praised. $2.50

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Holiday Book Section

Fifty Best Books of 1934

FICTION

Man's Fate. By André Malraux. Translated from the French by Haakon M. Chevalier. Smith and Haas. $2.50. A novel of revolutionary China which is also perhaps the first work of fiction in our time to bring back to literature the note of high heroic tragedy.

Passion's Pilgrims. The Proud and the Meek. By Jules Romains. Translated by Warre B. Welles. Knopf. Two volumes. $2.50 each. The second and third sections of "Men of Good Will," the monumental work of fiction in which this French writer is giving us a panorama of the life and society of his own time.

Joseph and His Brothers. By Thomas Mann. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter. Knopf. $2.50. The first volume in a trilogy which uses the myth and history of the Old Testament story as material for an attempt to probe the meaning of mankind's past. A beautiful example of the author's narrative and speculative style.

A Nest of Simple Folk. By Sean O'Faolain. Viking. $2.50. A recapitulation of the economic, political, and social forces culminating in the Irish Revolution, by a writer who is at once a poet and a detached recorder of historical fact.

The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan. By James T. Farrell. Vanguard. $2.50. The second volume of a trilogy in which one of the most mature and compelling of younger American writers depicts in unforgettable terms the almost insane disintegration of values in one particular corner of the modern world.

Journey to the End of the Night. By Louis Ferdinand Céline. Little, Brown. $2.50. The experiences of an embittered man who goes from the horrors of the war to the horrors of a medical practice in the slums of Paris. Distinguished by the Rabelaisian verve of its cynicism.

Salvation. By Sholem Asch. Putnam. $2.50. The story of a Jewish saint and of Jewish life in Poland a hundred years ago, which is also a study of the Hassidic movement.

POETRY AND BELLES-LETTRES

Wine from These Grapes. By Edna St. Vincent Millay. Harper. $2. In her first volume in three years, Miss Millay shows evidence of a growth not only toward intellectual maturity but also toward poetic integrity.

Poems, 1924-1933. By Archibald MacLeish. Houghton Mifflin. $3. One of the best lyric poets of our time brings together those of his poems which he himself chooses to preserve. An interesting and revealing collection.

Poems. By W. H. Auden. Random House. $2.50. A volume by the most considerable of the several young English poets now writing from the revolutionary point of view.

Collected Poems (1921-1931). By William Carlos Williams. Objectivist Press. $2. A belated collection by a writer who for two decades has maintained a leading position among radical American poets because he has been not only an original poet but a careful and skilful worker.

The Oxford Book of XVIIth Century Verse. Edited by H. J. C. Grierson and G. Bullough. Oxford University. $3. The latest addition to the famous Oxford anthologies.

Man with a Bull-tongue Plough. By Jesse Stuart. Dutton. $3. An entertaining book by a Kentucky mountaineer who uses a traditional literary form, the sonnet, to express a kind of folk exuberance.

American Ballads and Folk Songs. Collected and Compiled by John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax. Macmillan. $5. An excellent anthology of native songs, many of them with music, by two scholarly explorers in the field of American folklore.

Modern Art. By Thomas Craven. Simon and Schuster. $3.75. A lively and provocative book in which Mr. Craven excoriates both modernistic and academic art and challenges American artists to paint American.

HISTORY

Freedom Versus Organization. 1814-1914. By Bertrand Russell. Norton. $3.50. Brilliant and very readable critical history of social and economic theory and practice during the last hundred years. An excellent introduction to the background of contemporary thought.

The Eve of Conflict. Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War. By George Fort Milton. Houghton Mifflin. $5. A carefully documented study of the decade before the Civil War in which Stephen A. Douglas emerges as the great realist of the period.

The Victorian Aftermath. By Esmé Wingfield-Stratford. Morrow. $3.50. The concluding volume of a trilogy on the nineteenth century by a skilful and often brilliant historian.

Fifty Years of Europe. By J. A. Spender. Stokes. $5. A survey of European history from 1871 to 1914 which ranks with Fay's volumes on "The Origins of the War."

Rebel America. By Lillian Symes and Travers Clement. Harper. $3. An objective history of the various phases and factions of revolutionary thought and activity in the United States.

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

"Not I, but the Wind . . ." By Frieda Lawrence. Viking. $2.75. D. H. Lawrence's wife, survivor of one of the most extraordinary of modern relationships, reveals in this memoir a valiance and fairness which make her a significant figure in her own right.

Alice James: Her Brothers, Her Journal. Edited by Anna Robeson Burr. Dodd, Mead. $2.50. The brilliant and truly remarkable journal of the sister and daughter of the Jameses.

A Backward Glance. By Edith Wharton. Appleton-Century. $3. A volume of reminiscences which is notable for its evocation of the age of innocence, for its recording of personal friendships with such figures as Henry James and Walter Berry, and for its particular version of the old battle of the artist with the world.

A Chinese Testament. By Sergei Tretiakov. Simon and Schuster. $3. The autobiography of a young Chinese revolutionary which has caught in a remarkable way the spirit of the new China as it emerges from stagnant tradition.

Experiment in Autobiography. Discoveries and Conclusions of a Very Ordinary Brain (1866). By H. G. Wells. Macmillan. $4. The self-record of perhaps the most active mind that England has produced in our time.

Forty-two Years in the White House. By Irwin H. (Ike) Hoover. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50. The memoirs of a chief

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

usher of the White House who knew intimately the domestic lives of ten Presidents.

James G. Blaine. By David Saville Muzzey. Dodd, Mead. $4. A delightfully written, well-documented biography of a former political idol, and at the same time the best compact history now extant of the United States during Blaine's lifetime.

The Native's Return. By Louis Adamic. Harper. $2.75. The story of an immigrant American who went to his native Jugoslavia in search of his past and in the process rediscovered America.

Nijinsky. By Romola Nijinsky. Simon and Schuster. $3.75. An intense, personal, extremely interesting biography of the great Russian dancer by his wife.

Davy Crockett. By Constance Rourke. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50. In a tale which combines a high type of imagination with profound scholarship Miss Rourke continues her important work of incorporating American backgrounds into American literature.

Lord Riddell's Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and After. 1918-1923. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.75. A would-be Boswell to David Lloyd George betrays his subject in a diary of extraordinary frankness which confutes completely the myth that the Allied crusade against Germany was a high-minded adventure to save the world from destruction.

R. E. Lee. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Scribner. Two volumes. $7.50. A definitive biography of the leader of the Confederate army.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

The Decline of American Capitalism. By Lewis Corey. Covici-Friede. $4. A brilliant and carefully documented analysis from the Marxist point of view of the breakdown of capitalist economy in America.

The Coming American Revolution. By George Soule. Macmillan. $1.50. A presentation of the role of revolution in modern society by an important American economist who has arrived at his conclusions without benefit of dogma.

The Idea of National Interest and *The Open Door at Home.* By Charles A. Beard. Macmillan. $3 each. Analysis and criticism of the prevailing conception of nationalism, with a plea for a national economy planned strictly in the interest of the American people as a whole.

Property or Peace. By H. N. Brailsford. Covici-Friede. $3. In effect a reply by the noted publicist of the British Labor Party to the challenge to direct action laid down by John Strachey in "The Coming Struggle for Power."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Empire in the East. Edited by Joseph Barnes. Doubleday, Doran. $3.25. An excellent symposium by ten experts on the national and international problems of the Far East.

Hitler over Europe. By Ernst Henri. Simon and Schuster. $1.90. A highly sensational but circumstantial account of the forces which dominate the Hitler government and the foreign policies projected by the Third Reich.

China's Red Army Marches. By Agnes Smedley. Vanguard. $2.50. Through a rapid succession of dramatic episodes Miss Smedley records the growth of an important movement in our era—the building of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

The Chinese Soviets. By Victor A. Yakhontoff. Coward-McCann. $2.75. The most informative study available of the Chinese Soviets as they continue to gain in influence.

Fire over the Andes. By Carleton Beals. Lippincott. $3. The story of modern and ancient Peru by an outstanding authority on Central and South America.

Russia, Youth, and the Present-Day World. By Frankwood E. Williams. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50. An analysis of the psychological effects of life in a Socialist state which reveals perhaps better than any other book the spirit of the new Russia.

ECONOMICS

America's Capacity to Produce. By Edwin G. Nourse and Associates. $3.50. *America's Capacity to Consume.* By Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton. $3. The Brookings Institution. The first scholarly attempt to evaluate the potentialities of our national economy in terms of human needs. A convincing reply to those who believe that the problem of production has been solved.

The Theory of Wages. By Paul H. Douglas. Macmillan. $5. A definitive study in 640 pages, representing research perhaps unequaled in the history of economics into the problem of wages, which is central in economic theory.

The Economy of Abundance. By Stuart Chase. Macmillan. $2.50. A provocative analysis of America's technological possibilities.

MISCELLANEOUS

Technics and Civilization. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. $4.50. A provocative and ambitious treatise on the origins and the promise in human terms of our machine civilization.

Rameses to Rockefeller: The Story of Architecture. By Charles Harris Whitaker. Random House. $3.50. A modern authority on architecture examines the social and economic setting of the masterpieces of building throughout history, including our own period.

Patterns of Culture. By Ruth Benedict. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50. A scholarly study of three widely differing primitive societies which the author relates in an illuminating way to modern problems of culture and social attitudes.

Half Mile Down. By William Beebe. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. A fascinating account of the expeditions of Dr. Beebe and Otis Barton into one of the two remaining unexplored regions of the universe, the deep sea.

Mobilizing for Chaos. The Story of the New Propaganda. By O. W. Riegel. Yale University. $2.50. A sensational analysis sustained by documented facts of the perversion of public opinion, particularly for nationalistic ends.

Outstanding Books of Photographs, Prints, and Drawings

Portrait of America. By Diego Rivera. With an Explanatory Text by Bertram D. Wolfe. Covici-Friede. $3.50.

Photographs. By Man Ray. Random House. $10.

U. S. S. R. Portfolio. By Margaret Bourke-White. The Argus Company. Limited Edition. $15.

Off with Their Heads! By Peggy Bacon. Robert M. McBride. $3.

Art in America in Modern Times. Edited by Holger Cahill and Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Reynal and Hitchcock. $1.50.

Metropolis. An American City in Photographs. Assembled by Agnes Rogers. With Running Comment by Frederick Lewis Allen. Harper and Brothers. $3.

Karl Marx's "Capital" in Lithographs. By Hugo Gellert. Ray Long and Richard Smith. $3.

I Photograph Russia. By James E. Abbe. McBride. $3.

Fine Prints of the Year—1934. Edited by Malcolm C. Salaman. Minton, Balch. $10.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Three Against the Classics

The Smart Set Anthology. Edited by Burton Rascoe and Groff Conklin. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.50.

THE course that American literature took in the dozen years after 1900 was in part an accident of longevity. Of the established classics it is true that Poe, Thoreau, and Hawthorne had been dead a good while, but the others, though they had done much of their work before the Civil War, had lived on in a public veneration which amounted to a vested interest. Howells, surviving them, was the shadow that they cast, as the American Academy was to be his shadow. Henry James seemed to belong to England. Mark Twain, for all his genius, was obstinately held to be somehow extra-literary because un-Bostonian. Their average age was over sixty. New literature would have to come from new men. There were new men, but two of the first and best of them died young. Stephen Crane, the spearhead of the new literature, was dead in 1900, survived by Richard Harding Davis. Frank Norris, dead two years later, was survived by Jack London. If Crane and Norris had lived, the fate of Theodore Dreiser might have been different. As it was, he was left for a decade, without benefit of contemporaries, to do alone what several were needed for. Blander writers like Booth Tarkington and Winston Churchill wrote suaver books. The fashion ran to romance. The romance of the decade was as uncritical as the realism. James Branch Cabell was neglected for Charles Major and Mary Johnston, and Poictesme for Ruritania and Graustark. Unlike Crane and Norris as Cabell was, he was closer to them than to the orthodox who outlived them. Neither he nor Dreiser had Crane's and Norris's knack at catching the ear of the public. It was the brisker two of the four who died and left the fight to the shyer and slower. The new literature marked time for a decade.

What started it off again was, oddly, the death of Mark Twain. Studied as a whole, as men seldom are while they live, he turned out to have been full of a skeptic naturalism. His example strengthened the position of the new literature, which was skeptical and naturalistic, as the age in general had come, or was coming, to be. The muckrakers had not been busy for nothing. Dreiser after a long silence wrote other novels. Randolph Bourne and Van Wyck Brooks began to expound new doctrines with a precision which was more cogent, if less exciting, than the enthusiasms of Huneker. The New Poetry was born. New publishers were called for: after Huebsch, the earliest of them, Knopf, the Bonis, Liveright, Harcourt, Brace. By 1920 the stage was set for the outburst that followed.

When that time came there were already such critical reviews as the *New Republic* and *The Nation* (after 1918), and the *Seven Arts* had run its course, but the years before 1920 saw only one magazine genuinely hospitable to the new literature. The *Atlantic, Century, Harper's,* and *Scribner's* might almost have been edited by the American Academy. Their chief current topic was the war. The new literature had to make its way with the help of books—and of the *Smart Set,* edited by Willard Huntington Wright and then by George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken.

The *Smart Set,* originally an offshoot of *Town Topics,* was to the older magazines about what a circus is to a library. "Its Prime Purpose," Wright announced when he took it over from its earlier popular management, "is to Provide Lively Entertainment for Minds That Are Not Primitive." He and his colleagues and successors had come together, from Los Angeles, New York, Baltimore, with a single-minded liking for vitality, energy, audacity, color, rather than stateliness, correctness, propriety. They did not so much mind what was said in the *Smart Set* as whether it was said strikingly. The editors of the older magazines had thought of themselves as obliged to carry on a tradition and to safeguard their readers from what might harm or trouble them. The new editors, Mencken and Nathan and Wright, accepted and published what they liked themselves, trusting that their readers would like it too. Their readers did. For there is no real conflict between entertainment and excellence. Literature may have either without the other, or both at once. The *Smart Set* looked for both to the best of its ability, but it insisted that if it had to choose it would choose entertainment. Its editors, however, could not be interested in mere trivial entertainment. They had minds. The slightest of the entertaining pieces they published had to have in them, somewhere, the glitter of an idea.

The anthology which has now been made from the files of the magazine is not only a tempting gateway to modern American literature but also an amusing book to read. Even without many contributions which have since taken their place in other books by their writers, and even without anything from the lion voice of Mencken, the anthology is still a kind of subtreasury of the national riches. Here is Some Ladies and Jurgen, from which "Jurgen" grew. Here are a brooding mystery play by Dreiser, an uncollected poem by Elinor Wylie; shrewd novelettes by Thyra Samter Winslow and George Bronson-Howard; stories by Mary Austin, Barry Benefield, Stephen Vincent Benét, Catherine Brody, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Grace Flandrau, Dashiell Hammett, Ben Hecht, Sinclair Lewis, Ludwig Lewisohn, Dorothy Parker, Julia Peterkin, John Reed, Ruth Suckow; articles by Thomas Beer, Joseph Wood Krutch, John Macy, George Jean Nathan, Edgar Saltus, Louis Sherwin, Laurence Stallings, Hendrik van Loon, Willard Huntington Wright; lively skits and graceful lyrics. There are foreign contributions by Andreyev, Joseph Conrad, Dunsany, Oliver Gogarty, Frank Harris, Walter Hasenclever, Aldous Huxley, Joyce, Latzko, D. H. Lawrence, Schnitzler, James Stephens, Wedekind, Yeats. Over half of them are reprinted in this volume for the first time, and most of them deserve it.

Burton Rascoe's robust and controversial introduction takes up in some detail the later differences among the editors. While they were *Smart Set* editors they seem to have worked in a happy agreement. Happy is the term which fits the anthology as it fitted the magazine. It was fun to read because it had been fun to edit. What a whacking of sacred heads! Wright's article on Los Angeles, Beer's on farmers, van Loon's on Cornell point forward to a long series of such abrasives in the *Smart Set*—and in the *American Mercury.* What a novel candor in the stories! Nunnally Johnson's Ashes to Ashes touches what must be the high liquor mark in fiction. The vices, agreeable or disagreeable, appear in the stories as so many dramatic facts, without sermonizing. Illicit behavior of all kinds appears as often in the anthology as in human life at large, not as seldom as in older magazines. It is easy to see why the moralists objected: most of the love in the anthology is on the lawless side, passionate not sentimental. Passionate or professional. The half-world and the underworld are celebrated and emphasized. New York, the easy-going New York, is the scene of far more of the fiction than all the rest of the Americas, North and South, and decidedly more than the whole remaining universe, heaven, hell, time, space, and eternity. The village virtues hardly show themselves. This is not a rustic but an urban, cosmopolitan literature. America was turning to her cities, and Wright and Nathan and Mencken edited the *Smart Set* for a changing nation.

The nation has changed again since then. Some of the *Smart Set's* audacities are now taken for granted. All of its Neronianisms seem as remote as last decade's hats. The *Smart Set* is in a way itself a classic, and already certain later critics war against it, as so much skylarking. Literary history repeats

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

itself. Each generation kills off the classics that can be killed, to make room for new ones. Then comes another generation, to do the same thing. It is a valuable process. The classics that cannot survive ought to die. The *Smart Set* was one of the forces of nature, whistling at its work.

CARL VAN DOREN

Panorama of Recent Writing

The Georgian Scene. By Frank Swinnerton. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.50.

FOR reasons which are various and familiar it is difficult to write a literary history of the recent past. History implies a perspective for which even the surest of tastes is no real substitute, and no living man is wise enough to answer successfully even the preliminary question of whom to put in and whom to leave out. One way of meeting the difficulty is the way adopted by the apologist for a school or a movement who takes it for granted that only the members of his particular clique really count and proceeds upon the assumption that time will justify his neglect of everybody else. Another way is to abandon all attempt to establish a canon or to present a clear outline of development and to rest content with what Mr. Swinnerton calls in his subtitle "A Literary Panorama." One then includes for consideration every writer not obviously sub-literary who has achieved a wide reading, and one bases one's judgments frankly upon the preferences of one's taste without pretending that they are the result of either a formal aesthetic or an understanding of an inevitable historic process. The result is likely to be a bit formless, a bit diffuse, and a bit inconclusive, but at least it makes no pretense at being something it cannot possibly be.

Mr. Swinnerton's substantial volume of some five hundred pages contains essays on approximately seventy-five writers who range in time from Henry James to T. S. Eliot and in importance from Shaw and Bennett to Edgar Wallace and Noel Coward. A few of the discussions are quite perfunctory, and the space devoted to each often seems to bear little relation to either the popularity or the significance of the subject, but the best are genuinely illuminating and nearly all both informative and readable. Mr. Swinnerton quite frankly discusses his authors from the point of view of an enthusiastic reader of catholic taste rather than from that of a critic with dogmatic ideas. He walks around each subject, noting significant biographical details and, in a very large number of cases, supplying personal reminiscences. He proposes no standards other than very general ones and he makes no final judgments. But he does achieve a panorama, and few men are better qualified than he to do just that. As the author of many novels—at least one of which loomed pretty large at the time when Bennett was in his heyday—and as a very active publisher's adviser, he may truthfully say of the world he is describing, "All of it I saw and part of it I was."

In so far as "The Georgian Scene" has a theory, it seems to be that a fairly distinct mode of writing emerged about the time that the Henry James method went into bankruptcy, and that it held the field more or less unchallenged until the rise of what Mr. Swinnerton calls the New Academicism of T. S. Eliot and his disciples. Probably the best of all the essays is the first, on James himself, and according to that the central defect of James was his ambition to be, as he himself stated it, "just literary." The tenuousness of his writing was not due simply to his detachment but to the fact that he was not merely detached from but actually ignorant of both the material background and the driving motives of his characters, who were compelled to live in a spiritual as well as a material vacuum. He did not know precisely what forced Roderick Hudson's wayward young woman to marry a man she did not want to marry any more than he knew the precise nature of that humble household article from the manufacture of which the chief personages in "The Ambassadors" derived their income.

> Just what these things [real motives] were, James' speculative intelligence, his endless habit of wondering and supposing, did not tell him. In his early books he tried to invent practicable "somethings" . . . but as time went on James either pooh-poohed the matter altogether, as he managed to do (with the aid of what Maisie could not possibly be expected to know) in "What Maisie Knew," or carried off his own ignorance with a high hand, as in "The Ambassadors."

Wells and Bennett sacrificed much of the artfulness of James for the sake of communicating the concrete things they knew, and it is with the writers of their period that Mr. Swinnerton obviously has the greatest sympathy. They managed to keep a common touch which most of our strictly contemporary writers—especially those most praised by the cliques—have lost, and they reaped the reward of a larger, more substantial influence. Mr. Swinnerton has many kind things to say about the younger men; he does not deny the force of Lawrence or of Joyce, but he quite frankly does not like them very much, and unless I am oversystematizing his opinion it seems to be that they have failed to maintain an equilibrium formerly maintained between the writer's tendency to exploit either his art as such or his gift for self-expression and the duty to report and interpret an actual, familiar world. Neurotic self-absorption gets the best of Lawrence, virtuosity gets the best of Joyce, and pedantry gets the best of Eliot.

Mr. Swinnerton's attitude is not fashionable at the moment and is, of course, arguable. He himself does not insist upon it at any length as deducible from an abstract principle, and it serves chiefly as a method of holding loosely together what is primarily a "panorama." Those who seek in his book a well-knit history will be disappointed, as will also those who want to be told dogmatically what to think, or what limited number of books are "significant" from the point of view of this or that critical school. On the other hand, "The Georgian Scene" is an admirable introduction and guide for anyone who wishes to read comprehensively in the literature of the recent past. It is also good reading for those who are already familiar with the literature but who would like to discuss favorite books with a man who has read widely and enthusiastically.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Anatomy of Fascism

Fascism and Social Revolution. By R. Palme Dutt. International Publishers. $2.25.

A REVIEWER'S conscience troubles me about "Fascism and Social Revolution." I face the dilemma that I ought to persuade the largest possible number of readers to study this book, and at the same time make clear that in many respects it is a very bad book. Both tasks can scarcely be well done; the persuasion or the warning must suffer.

This is the most serious book I have read on fascism. It begins with an analysis of the economic and social conditions of fascism. The central thesis is familiar: Capitalism has reached a point where, as a social system, it can no longer manage the productive forces it has itself created. An unbridgeable contradiction has arisen between the productive forces and the social relations. The contradiction can be resolved only by collectivization. This, however, would involve the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, therefore, to maintain itself in power,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is more and more forced to try to strangle the forces of production—hence destruction of goods, shutting down of factories, cessation of international trade ("autarchy"), reversion to earlier methods of manufacture, curtailment of crops, sabotage of inventions, and so on. Nevertheless, in sharp opposition, competitive conditions still force the development of new techniques and the search for new markets. Fascism is the attempted social organization of these dying convulsions of the capitalist order, the attempt to prevent by any means the only actual solution of the contradiction which history offers—the proletarian revolution. This section is not, of course, written on the scale of Corey's "Decline of American Capitalism." But it is clearly presented, and aptly commented on by quotations selected chiefly from capitalist apologists. The wholly negative, perverted, destructive, retrogressive character of fascism emerges decisively. And Dutt again smashes the perennial myth that fascism is peculiar to certain politically "primitive" countries, showing that fascism, since it is the organization of capitalist decay and since capitalism must everywhere decay, is as much to be expected in England and the United States; showing in fact the real alternatives—fascism and barbarism or the socialist revolution, one or the other, there is no middle ground.

Most of the book is given over to an attack on the theory and practice of Social Democracy. This attack, though avoiding the usual mere invective and slander, is the most scathing imaginable. Squarely on the shoulders of Social Democracy Dutt places the responsibility for the victory of fascism. By a theoretic examination and by a résumé of the history of the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany, and Austria, he shows how Social Democracy's reliance on parliamentarism, its policy of class collaboration, its gradualism, above all its compromise with the capitalist state paralyze the revolutionary potentialities of the working class and open the road to fascism.

The flaw corrupting the whole positive aspect of the book might be summed up generally as *political* blindness. It is a blindness self-imposed: Dutt is editor of the *British Labour Monthly* and the leading theorist of the Communist International in the English-speaking world. Acceptance of the line of the Communist International means political blindness. Consider only that in this entire volume not one single word of criticism is directed against either the theory or the tactics of the Communist International. Granted the fullest responsibility of Social Democracy, could any sane man maintain that the great German Communist Party was led without fault straight into utter collapse before the fascist counter-revolution? It is Dutt himself who declares the united front to be the indispensable tactic against fascism. Nevertheless, he has not even a hint of criticism of the Communist International's self-contradictory theory of social-fascism, the directly splitting theory and practice of dual unionism, and the incredible tactic of the united-front-from-below. These were the guiding principles of the Communist International, which made a genuine united front of the German working class against the Nazis impossible, and which allowed the leadership of the working class to remain in the hands of the Social Democrats—that is, if Dutt's own estimate is correct, left the working class to the direction of the very ones who led it to slaughter.

I say the blindness is political—this for the following reason: Socially and economically considered, fascism is of course not a revolution; it is a continuance of the capitalist property system and of the capitalist dictatorship. But *politically* fascism is a qualitatively new form of the dictatorship, and its novelty is shown in precisely the feature that makes fascism a near life-and-death matter for the revolutionary movement: fascism, namely, destroys the autonomous organizations, both economic and political, of the working class. Thus the victory of fascism within any country imposes new and inestimable difficulties on the revolutionary movement in that country. But to admit the political implications would mean a complete reorientation of the line of the Communist International. It would involve the abandonment of exclusive preoccupation with the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, and the concentration of the energies of the national sections on the struggle within their respective countries, on the real fight against fascism which can only be the determined advance to revolution. But this, in turn, would mean the end of Stalinism—of trade deals with capitalist nations, and friendly diplomatic agreements, and non-agression pacts, and dickers with the Council of the League of Nations, and pacifist congresses against war and fascism. And in spite of the sharp reversals that have distinguished his spectacular career, it is too much to hope that Stalin will repudiate Stalinism.

JAMES BURNHAM

Dostoevski Street

Dostoievsky. By Nicholas Berdyaev. Sheed and Ward. $2.
Dostoevsky. By A. Yarmolinsky. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.75.

IN one of the most interesting of recent novels about Soviet Russia, "Out of Chaos" by Ilya Ehrenbourg, the young student Volodia, an heir of Raskolnikow and Ivan Karamazov stranded in the great construction works outside Kuznetsk, wanders into the town to forget his troubles, only to spot the name of his favorite author on one of the lamp posts. The juxtaposition, in his mood of drunken clairvoyance, is almost too perfect: Dostoevski Street, "Giant of Steel."

> He was convinced that only one man told the whole truth about men. It was a truth that was incontestable and lethal. It could not be lived with. It could be held out to the dying, as the Holy Sacrament had once been. But to sit down at a table and have a meal, one must forget it. . . . To build a state, the bare mention of this name must be forbidden.

The logic of this passage is incontrovertible. Dostoevski should be banned from the schools and libraries; his name should be forgotten in the country which he made known to the outside world more than any other writer, for the same reason that Plato banned all poets from his ideal commonwealth. The truth that he offers is demoniac — both in the original and in the later modern sense. And the demoniac kind of truth is a luxury in which a society, especially in the early stages of its development, can little afford to indulge. It does not build power dams, or fertilize wheat fields, or hold off the Japanese. It is truly lethal in a society in which these things become pressing necessities; and for the individual who cannot do without it, like Volodia in the novel, nothing remains but the rope around the neck in a lonely garret.

The truth of Dostoevski to which one refers, of course, is his truth as an artist and not whatever truths of an abstract philosophical order may be found scattered throughout his works. The mystical anarchism with which his later novels terminate is no more likely to affect very many people today than it did in the past, and it does not deserve to be taken too seriously. M. Berdyaev has made this mistake, and the result of his attempt to prove that Dostoevski was a great metaphysician is some of the most unintelligible pages of critical obfuscation that have ever found their way into print. Dostoevski was a dialectic novelist only in the sense that he used various opposing philosophical points of view as a dramatic framework for the projection of a total and intellectually unresolvable intuition of human psychology. By a proper selection one can prove that Dostoevski was anything that one would like him to have been—from an orthodox Christian apologist to a pioneer of Marxist materialism. But this is to resolve fundamental contradictions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MACMILLAN

Presents

WORTHWHILE BOOKS FOR XMAS GIFTS

By Mary Ellen Chase

MARY PETERS

A Great American Novel

"Prose so lovely that it restores our faith in writing as a fine art! Comparable to a portrait painted by a master."—*Harper's.*

"As rich a harvest as ever came from The Banks."—*Chicago News.*

"A novel of distinguished literary beauty."—*Boston Herald.* $2.50

By H. G. Wells

EXPERIMENT IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

His Most Amazing Work

"Certainly one of the richest and most curious, shrewdest and frankest books published in many a year—a basic personal document of our time by one of the most interesting minds now alive!"—*Henry Seidel Canby.*

"I wish there were *ten more volumes* to look forward to!"—*Alexander Woollcott.* $4.00

A. J. A. Symons'

THE QUEST FOR CORVO

"Biography written like a mystery story!"—*New York Sun.*

"Awaited for years as a literary impossibility."—*Sat. Rev. of Lit.* "The excitement of a murder trial."—*Book-of-Month-Club.* $2.50

By Doris Leslie

FULL FLAVOUR

A Rich, Powerful Novel

"Vivid, full-flavored record of life."—*Chicago Tribune.*

"Absorbing, vital, with a merit rare in any season."—*Phila. Inq.*

"An impressive achievement."—*Sat. Review of Literature.* $2.50

Robert P. Tristram Coffin's

LOST PARADISE

A Boyhood on a Maine Seacoast Farm

"A really great and true book—a book sprung from continuing and enduring traditions—a rare, brave tale!"—*N. Y. Herald Tribune.* $2.50

John Masefield's

THE TAKING of the GRY

Another stirring sea story by the author of "The Bird of Dawning". The story, involving the cutting out of a seized gun runner from a fortified harbor, is jammed with thrills. $2.00

Eiluned Lewis'

DEW ON THE GRASS

"A distinguished, appealing lyric-book!"—*N. Y. Herald Tribune.*

"The tang of marigolds!"—*Sat. Review of Lit.*

"It set a candle in my memory."—CHARLES MORGAN. $2.00

Guy Mazeline's

THE WOLVES

The novel which won the Goncourt Prize, outstanding French award for fiction.

"A story of immense scope, an experience in living! Packed with real substance."—*N. Y. Times.* $2.50

Sterling North's

PLOWING ON SUNDAY

A gripping story of American farm life. Earthy as new-turned loam, intimate as a telephone party line. You will think you lived on Stud. Brailsford's farm. $2.50

Doreen Wallace's

EVEN SUCH IS TIME

"A fine unflinching study of the blindly destructive forces which mock man's striving and his hope. She is a sensitive and gifted interpreter."—*N. Y. Herald-Tribune.* $2.50

Naomi Jacob's

FOUR GENERATIONS

"A story rich with the mellow traditions of old and established family life."—*Madison Capital Times.*

"Wrought with notable skill."—*N. Y. Herald-Trib.* $2.50

Simonne Ratel's

THE HOUSE IN THE HILLS

The novel which won the Prix Interallie for fiction.

"Fraught with rich imagery, beauty and dramatic power."—*Amer. Mercury.* $2.50

Ernest Poole's

ONE OF US

"A solid, substantial, superior novel."—*N. Y. World-Telegram*... "Full of beauty. Its reading is an adventure and a delight."—*Boston Transcript.* $2.50

THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY

The standard reference work of its field is offered at one-third the original price.

"Here's welcome news to everyone to whom History is a matter of lively interest."—*Saturday Review of Literature.* (13 vols.) $32.00

MACMILLAN

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in his thought which he himself never succeeded in resolving. It is not insulting to say that actually Dostoevski was at his worst when he was attempting to be a thinker, that is, a consistent thinker. He was at his best only when he yielded to his demon of inconsistency and presented the living processes of the mind with no other concern than a fidelity to their ultimate and imponderable complexity. This was the truth that his own disordered mind and personality revealed to him, and it is a very difficult truth, as the student Volodia demonstrated, for men or societies to live with. It is altogether useless; it is offensive to reason; and after a half-century of Dostoevski and his descendants in the novel it has become more than a little monotonous. The Soviet government is quite right in setting aside funds for the publication of the first complete edition of Dostoevski's works. But their place on the shelves of the workers' and peasants' libraries should be not alongside but somewhere behind the collected editions of Marx and Lenin. There they may receive for the next few generations that secret and reluctant tribute due the skeleton in the closet.

After the sophistries and rhetoric into which M. Berdyaev's effort has led him, one is grateful that Mr. Yarmolinsky has refrained from developing any particular thesis in regard to Dostoevski. In marked contrast to the "interpretation" offered by the expelled professor of the University of Moscow, Mr. Yarmolinsky's book possesses the qualities of order, lucidity, and self-restraint. Although it does not add appreciably to the new store of evidence about Dostoevski used by a recent English biographer, it better subordinates these materials to their proper place in the whole. It is likely to win for itself the reputation of being altogether the most satisfactory treatment of the subject in the language.

WILLIAM TROY

A Poet's Defense of Nationalism

The Forty Days of Musa Dagh. By Franz Werfel. Translated by Geoffrey Dunlop. The Viking Press. $3.

IN 1915 the Young Turkish nationalists resolved to exterminate the whole Armenian people. The Armenians, like other racial minorities, are intelligent, hard-working, patient, and prosperous, and the Turks, reckoning on the fact that the attention of the world was focused on the battle-fronts of Western Europe, hoped at one stroke to confiscate their homes and farms, take over their shops, and eliminate this people's dangerous commercial genius, with which the Turk is hard put to compete. The order for expulsion was given, but by "expulsion" the Turks meant annihilation. The Armenians were without warning ordered to leave Turkey. They were allowed to take with them only so much of their possessions as they could carry on their backs. They were forced to walk at an inhuman pace, flogged when they fell, shot when they protested. These convoys of thousands of families were deliberate death traps. Several thousand Armenians refused to submit to the cruel decree, intrenched themselves on the mountain of Musa Dagh, fought off several detachments of Turkish troops, and after forty days of desperate defense and incredible privations, were rescued by the French.

Franz Werfel says that in writing the story of these terrible forty days he wanted to "snatch from the Hades of all that was, this incomprehensible destiny of the Armenian nation." The fact that Werfel, himself a Jew, at the very time of the writing of "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh" saw the German terror envelop his race and observed all the brutalities of which an organized, mechanized, mystically justified nationalism is capable, suggests an immediate political purpose behind this epic celebration of the sufferings of a minority race. But let no one imagine that Werfel has written a political allegory or an indictment of the Hitler dictatorship. He has on the contrary striven to strike free of the contemporary world in which class lines are so clearly drawn and to tell a story of racial persecution that invincibly suggests the universal moral enigmas that are constitutive of man's villainy and suffering, a story that cannot be understood in terms of economic struggles, but remains, after the economic issues are defined, an obstinately irrational fact. Hence the emphasis on what is "incomprehensible" in the destiny of the Armenian nation. But in this attempt to tell a fable of purely human valor and hatred while yet rendering an exact historical account of the Armenians' struggle against the Turks, I believe Werfel has failed, and I am glad that he did not succeed. He has failed because the economic and political issues weigh down the impulse to epic poetry and moral prophecy; the most powerful drama is packed into the scenes that develop the economic antagonisms of Armenian and Turk and the concrete practical bases of human villainy. I am glad that Werfel failed, because he pits against the mechanized nationalism of the Turks a mystical nationalism, a call of the blood, an inexplicable union with race and God. Gabriel Bagradian, the Europeanized Armenian, the abstract man, who rejoins his people and finds his salvation in leading the defense at Musa Dagh, becomes symbolic of the mystical nationalism of which Werfel approves. So that the issues of the contemporary world find their way into this "incomprehensible" story of the Armenian nation, and thus found, have a confused, contradictory, and reactionary form. Who will distinguish between mechanically and mystically caused racial sentiment? The difference exists; but since race has become the catchword of fascism, any celebration of race, even though such a distinction is made to justify it, is bound to have a confusing and finally a reactionary effect.

The technique of a dramatic author whose philosophic vision is self-contradictory almost always exhibits a parallel defect. Some Marxists, who have insisted on this, do not perhaps recognize how double-edged a paradox this critical dictum can prove to be. (For what shall we say, when we have rejected his politics, of the absolute insight of Dostoevski?) But in Werfel's case the notion holds. Scenes of brilliant dramatic intuition such as the historic battle of wits between the German missionary Dr. Lepsius, who pleads unsuccessfully for the Armenians, and the Enver Pasha—in which the clash of immeasurable issues is suggested by the untidiness of the Christian and the courtesy of his antagonist—are followed by endlessly detailed bits of melodrama on the level of the daily cinema. "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh" might serve as a perfect bit of evidence for the identity of dramatic and political insight—and should be invaluable to a jury composed of Werfel's Marxist peers. For the contradictions in Werfel's purpose are glaringly paralleled in his craft.

LIONEL ABEL

How News Is Made

Mobilizing for Chaos. The Story of the New Propaganda. By O. W. Riegel. Yale University Press. $2.50.

THE statement that there is dynamite in this book, followed by the imprimatur of the Yale University Press, leads one to expect the sensational substantiated by documented facts, and this is exactly what the director of journalism at Washington and Lee University gives us.

On the principle that the state has the absolute right to supervise the formation of public opinion, all instruments of communication and education have been mobilized "to build a national mass psychology favorable to the interests and ambitions" of an alarmingly large number of countries. Mr. Riegel traces the growth of nationalism, the warping of the national

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mind, and shows us the triple purpose—extension of national culture, extension of national trade, and war preparation. Then, having exposed the layers of existing conditions and motivations, he comes upon the dynamite of Chapter V, Nationalism and the Corruption of News.

This chapter, the body of the book, should prove sensational to all laymen and exceedingly interesting to journalists. Facts, "the true facts" as many newspapermen have a habit of saying, are the most sensational things in the world when presented for the first time and intelligently related. This function is supposed to belong to the daily newspaper. But the daily newspaper, reserving for itself the right to criticize everyone and anything while upholding the theory that criticism is the greatest safeguard to democracy, almost universally repudiates criticism of itself. The conspiracy of San Francisco editors to smash the general strike, the part the press played in defeating the Tugwell bill and the child-labor amendment, the government order against certain aspirin advertising, hundreds of cases of libel suits, every one of these items critical of the press and intensely interesting to the layman can be found in the house organ of the newspaper owners, the *Editor and Publisher,* but rarely in the news columns of the average daily. Likewise, the dynamite in Chapter V, including documents which question the integrity of the great press bureaus and describe the poisoning of news by dictators, may also be found in the publishers' weekly. Mr. Riegel's contribution to intelligent thinking about nationalism and its perversion by propaganda is largely a criticism of the world's organs of criticism.

> In summary [he says] the world is moving rapidly into an era of universal obstruction of the free flow of information and opinion. In the name of nationalism, the fetish of the decade, freedom of speech and the press has already been denied to approximately nine-tenths of the world population, including the populations of Russia, China, Japan, Germany, Italy, Austria, most colonial possessions, the smaller states of the Balkans, and South America. . . . The League of Nations partakes of the character of a counter-propaganda agency, and its prestige has lately been losing ground.

I wish Mr. Riegel had done two things—first, pointed to the welcoming arms with which many of our newspapers and press bureaus receive pro-fascist and anti-Russian propaganda, and, second, differentiated between reactionary propaganda paid for by the corporations which finance dictators on whose bayonets they hope the collapsing economic system may be upheld, and the radical propaganda which, as propaganda, may be open to the same charge of distorting truth but cannot be accused of exploiting nationalism for purely financial reasons. If the second item is beyond the scope of the book, surely the first is not. Propaganda, says the author, is a menace: it warps the mind; it leads the masses to war. Yet for ten years some 1,300 American editors joyfully paid for the propaganda by which the Associated Press correspondent in Rome created the Mussolini myth, and the New York *Times* is still supplying its readers with Roman apologies, explanations, and boastings more pro-fascist, it has been said, than those of the Duce himself. If General Butler had led a fascist army to Washington it would have been a nice sequel to all the Mussolini ballyhoo which the American press knowingly and intentionally published as true news.

Mr. Riegel concludes tragically that "it is not improbable that the government monopoly on information at home and the strict embargo against matter coming from foreign monopolies on information will produce a new dark age in which . . . the benighted national populations will be the slaves of any propaganda with which their political masters wish to bind them." Conditions which exist almost invariably lead to catastrophe "in the form of war or insurrection." I am glad that Mr. Riegel

Fine Books Make Fine Gifts

A HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

By C. R. M. F. Cruttwell. A clear impartial account of the war years 1914-1918, for the general reader, told with detached perspective yet vivid narration and mastery of detail. With maps and plans. $5.50

THE OXFORD BOOK OF XVIIth CENTURY VERSE

Edited by H. J. C. Grierson and C. Bullough. A new addition to the Oxford Books of Verse containing poems from one of the most interesting periods of English literature. $3.00
India paper edition $3.75

THE CONCISE OXFORD FRENCH DICTIONARY

By Abel Chevalley and Marguerite Chevalley. A new, wholly up-to-date dictionary, notable for the completeness with which it covers modern Parisian conversational French, idiomatic definition and literary French. Over 40,000 words, 900 pages. $3.00

A beautiful, one-volume, complete Shakespeare

THE SHAKESPEARE HEAD Edition of SHAKESPEARE

For anyone who wishes an edition of Shakespeare for a gift, this volume is ideal. Designed by B. H. Newdigate; large type, handsomely printed and bound; containing everything attributed to Shakespeare; based upon the ten-volume edition of the late A. H. Bullen of Stratford-on-Avon. $3.00

THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER

Translated by T. E. Shaw. Published in 1932, this translation became celebrated at once. It is now available for an even wider audience in a beautiful new edition at a much lower price. "One of the notable books of our time."—*Book-of-the-Month Club News.* $1.75

NORTHERN LIGHTS

By F. Spencer Chapman. A first-hand account of the thrilling British expedition to Greenland to explore possible air routes. With superb illustrations. New edition. $2.50

A PAGEANT OF ASIA

By Kenneth J. Saunders. A Study of three Civilizations. A lucid study of the civilizations of India, China and Japan with a discussion of the leading ideas underlying each. $5.00

THESE HURRYING YEARS

By Gerald Heard. World history since 1900, the scene, the forces, the trends. "Of commanding interest."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune,* "Fascinating."—*N. Y. Times.* "Highly stimulating."—*The American Mercury.* $3.00

FATHER AND SON

By Edmund Gosse. This work, probably Gosse's most famous masterpiece, is largely autobiographical and presents an unusual study of the conflict of two Victorian generations. In *The World's Classics.*

THE WORLD'S CLASSICS: Over 400 books, comprising the greatest works and translations in the English language. Pocket size, beautifully printed and bound, only 80 cents each. Send for our free descriptive list.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
114 Fifth Avenue, New York

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concludes without giving much space to the note of hope which most book reviewers expect, and with no mention of panaceas. His job has been to find and explain the facts about a menacing condition and he has done it interestingly and intelligently.

GEORGE SELDES

Patterns of Culture

Patterns of Culture. By Ruth Benedict. Houghton Mifflin and Company. $2.50.

THIS is an important and revealing book; it draws together the scattered threads of esoteric research into a pattern so distinct, so finely conceived that it is relevant to the interests not merely of specialists but of all thinking persons. Anthropology is the youngest of the social sciences; a great part of its subject matter has remained a closed book to inquiring minds from other spheres of discourse. This has been particularly true when the subject was the American Indian; between difficult field monographs speckled with native words and abstruse concepts and the popularized accounts there has been nothing. Dr. Benedict's work is based upon a scholarly knowledge of the sources, combined with first-hand experience of American Indian tribes, but she has taken her material and reworked it, simplified it to the extent that she has related it to a more universal context, the philosophy of history.

Her theme is the nature of human cultures, which are not, she maintains, to be understood either as chance assemblages of social traits or as a series of bizarre but basically monotonous versions of universal themes, such as mating or food-getting. There is, she contends with vividness and vigor and with a wealth of carefully sorted and minutely comprehended illustrative material, something more important to be said about human cultures than this. Each culture is to be understood in the same terms as those in which individual human beings must be understood, as having a personality to which certain goals are significant, certain types of behavior congenial and other types of behavior repellent, a personality which finds its analogues in some human temperaments. It is, indeed, from the potentialities of some particular human temperament that each culture must have received its clues. But whereas a human being, be he ever so gifted or rich in imaginative genius, is limited in his endeavors to a few score years, a culture is "time binding"; the purposes which it makes its own can be perpetuated for thousands of years, embodied in the details of social life, in the treatments of birth and death, in the valuations placed upon ecstasy or sobriety, modesty or self-display. This personality, this definitive tone which individualizes a culture as against neighboring cultures which share its institutions but bend them to a different emphasis, Dr. Benedict calls a "configuration." These configurations are, she maintains, unique and essentially incomparable; the values of each have an internal consistency but cannot be translated easily or significantly from the terms of one system into the terms of another. Each configuration bends to its special emphasis the majority of those born within it, metes out special rewards to those individuals whose native bent is most congruent with the cultural bent, and punishes, disallows, or at least gives no accredited role to those whose temperaments are too antithetical to the dominant cultural motif. From this point of view Dr. Benedict foresees the development of a new psychiatry which will classify aberrant personalities not in terms of lists of symptoms, but in terms of the extent to which innate traits have been too rigidly disallowed by the culture, or slender capacities strained by its too rigorous demands.

This is the framework of her argument. But the body of the book, which will delight alike the social scientist, the student of art, and the sensitive-minded lay reader, is concerned with vivid descriptions of three primitive societies from this special point of view. She discusses the Apollonian culture of the Zuñi Indians, who set a premium on the middle way, and then contrasts with the Apollonian Pueblos two other cultures—that of the exhibitionist, megalomaniac Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island and that of the morose paranoid Dobuans of New Guinea. Each of these cultures is distinct. One could no more be mistaken for another than could the different personalities whose fragile emphases they so elaborately approximate. Having developed the picture of their individuality in such rich detail, Dr. Benedict applies the conclusion to modern life, and in so doing turns the theme of cultural relativity from the counsel of despair which so many philosophers have made of it into a counsel of hope. For upon a recognition of the importance of these varying configurations, of the limitations which they impose and the dignity which they make possible, and upon a recognition that some individuals must always suffer because their temperament is alien to the cultural emphasis, rests a hope for a more sophisticated social attitude. We can never build, says Dr. Benedict, a culture in which every temperament can have full expression, but by recognizing what culture is we can give every individual a new platform from which to plan his own life, and enable society itself perhaps to plan more fully and more richly.

MARGARET MEAD

A World Under Water

Half Mile Down. By William Beebe. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

THE unexplored areas of the earth's crust are shrinking fast. That very narrow layer of air between low tide and timber line, where man can wander at will without any gadgets to help him keep alive, has yielded almost all the facts discernible to the unaided eye. Above and below this region there remain two vast unexplored worlds, the stratosphere and the deep sea. The antithesis between Beebe's descent into the unknown depths and Piccard's ascent into the stratosphere is recognized and frequently referred to in "Half Mile Down."

This book is divided into four main sections—emotional, historical, pragmatic, and technical. Little need be said of the first section. It does full justice to its label, even to the exclusion of coherence. The history of underwater gear makes you realize that this field has been dominated by adventurous and imaginative spirits with little respect for the laws of physics.

Dr. Beebe deals with two ranges of underwater exploration—the shallow coastline, from ten to sixty feet in depth, which can be reached with a helmet, and the great depths, for which the diver needs protection from the pressure. The beauty of shallow reefs, teeming with fish and countless other creatures, leaves him at a loss for similes, and I fear that without the illustrations the reader would get no real image of the scene; but to the difficulty of describing this weird beauty the reviewer can attest. The prophecy that there will be a host of helmet divers and even underwater gardeners in a few years neglects the fact that the change from air to water medium is not as simple as it sounds. Beauty there is, but there is danger with it, not from vicious fishes but from man's inability to accustom himself to the complex of new surroundings. An Eskimo suddenly dropped at Forty-third Street and Broadway would be in a more familiar place than is a man under fifteen feet of water for the first time.

The main theme of the book, of course, is the investigation of the great depths with the bathysphere. The preparations and trial runs are vividly described. Then Dr. Beebe, accompanied by Otis Barton, to whom much of the credit for the planning of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the bathysphere must go, is lowered over the side of the boat. You feel yourself pressed against a window two thousand feet down, peering into awesome darkness, as adventure and near-disaster keep a constant flow of adrenalin pouring into your blood stream. It is adventure well told.

On the scientific side Mr. Beebe records well-known animals at depths where the pressure ought to shatter their fragile bodies. Glimpses are caught of strange fishes, carrying their own illumination in this perpetual midnight. From his single bubble he saw a wealth of sea life that past work with dredges and nets had not even suggested. This is a distinct contribution to modern oceanography, and here Dr. Beebe should rest. Unfortunately he has attempted to name new species and genera from his observations through the bathysphere window. These glimpses were short in duration and incomplete on account of poor lighting. To add to these difficulties, there was the psychological strain. His own statement, "For authenticity and accuracy is required undisturbed concentration," should have kept him on his guard.

Dr. Beebe has tried to please two distinct groups of readers, the lay public and the scientists. The weaknesses of his book are due largely to the fundamental incompatibility of their demands.

HUGH H. DARBY

Art and the Life of Action

Art and the Life of Action. By Max Eastman. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

IN a delightful if inadequately illustrated discourse on "The Enjoyment of Poetry" which Max Eastman wrote a score of years ago he made the point that poetry is of no practical value, since the poet's concern is mainly to achieve for himself and to arouse in his audience a fuller realization of the actual or imagined experience presented in his poem. Much more recently Mr. Eastman published a book entitled "The Literary Mind," in which he was at pains to draw distinctions between that type of literature which is scientific and therefore useful, or at least purposive, and that which, belonging to the realm of art, is an attempt to heighten consciousness and therefore to stay action. A few months ago he developed this theme further in a book calling to account those artists who had abandoned or abused their function by donning uniforms and melting down their pens, as it were, to forge swords. The major part of his latest work is devoted to a reexamination of these familiar motifs.

They are not original with Mr. Eastman. Schopenhauer's essays on art, however complicated by philosophical jargon, bear a similar refrain. For the artist, he insists, and for the participant in the artist's accomplishment, "the world as idea alone remains, and the world as will has disappeared." Santayana, although more of a moralist, distinguishes between the practical nature of prose and the useless nature of poetry. Furthermore, he speaks of art as "abstract and inconsequential." "Born of suspended attention," he adds, "it ends in itself." And Herbert Read, distinguishing between character and personality, and reminding us that Keats's state of "negative capability" is proper to a poet if not to a man of action, is of the same mind with these philosophers. One cannot help wondering why Mr. Eastman, who likes to call himself a poet, feels the need of playing variations upon this old theme. It is impossible, as he well knows, to have experience in a moral or a social vacuum. It would have been more to the point had the author helped the artist and his audience to an understanding of how he might share in the life of his times without becoming a man of "character" and bending all his energies to changing the sorry scheme of things American. Mr. Eastman recognizes that the man who

HARPER BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

WINE FROM THESE GRAPES

By Edna St. Vincent Millay

The new book by a great American poet, compared by the critics to the work of the immortals. A distinguished gift for those who appreciate the finest in modern writing. $2.00

ENGLISH JOURNEY

By J. B. Priestley

"Informal, miraculously observant, socially revealing record of a journey through England." — *New Yorker.* "A true, honest picture of England."—*Hugh Walpole.* Illustrated. $3.00

LAMB IN HIS BOSOM

THE PULITZER PRIZE NOVEL

By Caroline Miller

With quiet courage and homespun dignity, the characters in this superb novel have won for themselves a unique place in the heart of America's readers. A book to own. An ideal book to give. $2.50

The NATIVE'S RETURN

By Louis Adamic

"A book such as we have not seen before, fresh, pungent, tender," says the *N. Y. Times* of this best selling book. It reveals the meaning and the amazing social and political background of King Alexander's assassination. Illustrated $2.75

METROPOLIS

An American City In Pictures

By Agnes Rogers and Frederick Lewis Allen

ALEXANDER WOOLLCOTT says: "I have given away my copy of *Metropolis* but I have already ordered three more at my bookshop. Greater love hath no man." 304 photographs and 20,000 words of text. Large size. $3.00

HARPER & BROTHERS

49 East 33rd St. New York, N. Y.

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IMPORTANT NEW BOOKS

TOWARDS STABILITY

By Sumner H. Slichter

Author of Modern Economic Society

An authoritative and enlightening inquiry, by an eminent economist, into the problems of the business cycle and the methods of stabilizing business. It discusses, among other vital questions: Why cannot wage increases stimulate business recovery Can government spending prime the pump? Is inflation imminent? Can industry be controlled under capitalism? $2.00

CURRENT ECONOMIC POLICIES

Joseph B. Hubbard, General Editor

"One of the most significant books on the interpretation of New Deal measures that has yet appeared."—*The Wharton Review* Among the contributors are Wallace, Tugwell, Richberg, Dickinson, Lippmann, Keynes Warren, Slichter, Rist, Willis, Taussig and Seligman. $3.50

HENRY HOLT & CO., 1 Park Ave., N. Y.

An epic history of the Gem of the Antilles...

"BRILLIANT! . . . Mr. Strode has painted a broad canvas in the brilliant colors which the subject merits. He makes one *feel* Cuba, the pathos, the bitterness, the laughter and the comedy. His retelling of the tales of conquest makes the book worthwhile if for nothing else. His excellent summary of the events from the victory over Spain down to the present is by all odds the best in print."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune "Books."*

"ROBUST! . . . The reader must be prepared to be exhilarated, enchanted and horror struck by turns as the pageant of Cuba is unfolded. It will have a place in the bibliography of Cuba which no intelligent reader can afford to neglect."—*N. Y. Times Book Review.*

"AN EPIC! . . . An extraordinary epic of expiation! Fascinating! It will be read breathlessly." —*Owen Johnson.*

The Pageant of Cuba

By HUDSON STRODE

author of "The Story of Bermuda"

Recommended by the Book-of-the-Month Club. 357 pages, illustrated, $3.00. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 17 E. 49 St., N. Y.

practices art for life's sake is apt to be a revolutionary, but he does not take sufficient account of what this means, for good or ill, to his performance, nor does he give due emphasis to the fact that art, however belatedly and indirectly, can and does influence behavior.

Having a well-furnished mind and a fluent style, he is able to repeat his animadversions against a dogmatic Hegelianism and a blind loyalty to the Communist Fathers without seriously offending the reader. But it is time he was off to pastures new. *There is nothing particularly novel or interesting in the papers* with which he pads out his long essay to make a full-sized volume. These date anywhere between 1922 and 1933, and vary from book reviews analyzing with cruel skill the work of Hemingway and Floyd Dell to notes from a travel diary. A few, such as the essay on the Higher Criticism of the Marxian Bible, are of current interest; others, such as On Learning Foreign Languages and The Russian Soul and Language, are either trivial or downright silly; but all are written with the charm that lies in an easy, graceful wit. The pity is that a lively intelligence should be wasted on matters of slight import and on a question to which the same intelligence has already applied itself quite thoroughly. BABETTE DEUTSCH

Ernest Walsh

Poems and Sonnets. By Ernest Walsh. With a Memoir by Ethel Moorhead. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

ERNEST WALSH is worth keeping—but more as representing an interlude in the cultural history of America than in the body of its literature. Some comprehensive anthology of the future may include two or three poems, much as we now include Willis or Chivvers, although for different reasons, as an example of the past but not at all as a contributing part of the present. He is a minor poet in the ill sense of the word; he is master neither of a felicitous superficial form like Dobson nor of a peculiar substance like Beddoes, nor is he an excellent poet of the smaller magnitude like Waller or Gascoigne; he is minor in that he presents an average rendition of a special case—but not a special case of overwhelming interest. Given a sensitive man with Walsh's experience of disease and Walsh's ignorance of the arts of poetry and language, put him in touch with Harriet Monroe (who rightly encouraged him and took his first poems) and then with Ezra Pound (who "showed him how a poem should be constructed"), and this is the sort of verse he is likely to write: technically shoddy, raggedly composed, and tending under any severity of stress to come up under the lee of the conventional emotional formula.

At any rate, that is what you find. Walsh wrote far more to be in the swim of those who express themselves than to follow the difficult vocation of adding to the existing stock of poetry. There seems no other way of explaining the fact that he adopted and watered down the easiest prevailing methods of writing, and the further fact that most of his poems come to a close by a tenuous process of exhaustion. He never learned, in his six or seven years of practice, how to break or carry over a line, or how to spell a rhythm. Most of his sonnets have fourteen lines but otherwise escape the limits of a recognizable form. His one experiment was to take refuge in false and inconsistent old spelling (for example, "Then was ther a fielde ovve flowers . . ."), of which the obvious result was to make his words burr and thicken in the reader's mouth.

In spite of these defects, which remain constant, and in spite, too, of the positive immaturity of his mind, Walsh's poems have an accidental aesthetic interest. There is a freshness of sensual image in the erotic poems and a quivering sincerity in the later domestic poems which, if they do not make the verse

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

excellent, yet make vivid this man's report of his life. And there are two poems addressed to Ezra Pound in homage and admiration which amount, curiously, beyond their intention, to a portrait of their object. Had he lived and learned his trade, even by the wasteful ordeal of blind trial, Walsh might have made a poet; certainly he improved; but he died of a tubercular hemorrhage, aged thirty-one, in 1926, without ever knowing enough to put himself to the test of a good poem.

But there is more than this to remember of Ernest Walsh; he was an intimate and animating part of the literary history of the 1920's. If you look back and read not only the poems here collected but also a copy or two of *This Quarter*, the magazine he edited with Ethel Moorhead, you will see that neither poems nor magazine could have appeared after 1930. The predominant interest of the magazine was the free expression of the individual (as not discriminated from the matter in hand)—an interest which led Walsh, as editor, to place Shakespeare, Dickens, and Robert McAlmon on the same level, and Emanuel Carnevali, by implication, a little higher. What was then called the revolutionary influence of Joyce and Stein, Cummings and Pound, was at the height of confusion—although the apotheosis of the late numbers of *transition* (the Revolution of the Word) was yet to come.

These literary revolutionists persuaded themselves that by a denial of most of the resources of the mind the individual's private experience acquired innate validity and, incidentally, the objective limits of communication were somehow dissolved. Wyndham Lewis, in "Time and Western Man," made an exaggerated but fundamentally unanswerable attack on the whole group, including Walsh, under the general heading of the Revolutionary Simpleton. Now Walsh is dead and those associated with him—like the French Dadaists—have changed, disappeared, or lost their vivid magnitude. Today you have, or have not, a different revolution to confront you, but the deliberate aesthetic insanity of the twenties is, for contrast, all the more worth remembering. The years are few, but the gap is absolute.

R. P. BLACKMUR

The Yellow Man's Burden

Japan in Crisis. By Harry Emerson Wildes. The Macmillan Company. $2.

AN informed and realistic critique of present-day social, economic, and political conditions in Japan is something to be appreciated by those who have searched in vain for an even passably adequate study of this much-discussed but little-known country. The author has evidently lived in Japan many years and read widely in Japanese sources. As a result of his first-hand knowledge he achieves the happy balance of a genuinely critical analysis that safely steers clear both of muck-raking and of scaring up a fantastic "yellow peril." In one aspect of Japanese society after another he presents an unsparing exposition of the factors that he observes at work. Factual materials are selected with discriminating insight, and the result is distinctly a "behind-the-scenes" view of Japanese institutions.

The amount of ground covered in a brief three hundred pages is little short of amazing. Introductory chapters deal with the *Weltanschauung* of the Japanese people, the diverse manifestations of the reaction against Westernism, and the movement for a return to old ways. Politico-economic questions are treated from a number of angles—the political machinery, law enforcement, the hounding of radicals, labor-capital relationships, agrarian unrest, and commercial corruption. Chapters on Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria fit into an analysis of Japan's colonial practices and imperialistic policies. Finally, space is found for a discussion of social problems—women and

No Person Interested in our Times can miss this new book by

NORMAN THOMAS

Human Exploitation

A fearless probing of the lot of the working man in America. —*N. Y. Herald-Tribune*

A significant work of tremendous importance, broad in viewpoint, sensational in its implications, fearless and informative to the last degree. To read it is to find one's conception of America and its capitalistic system profoundly altered. *Some Of The Chapters:* Real Estate vs. Homes; Farming for Exercise; Mines and Miners; Working for Wages; Working Conditions; Unemployment; Women in Industry; Exploiting Our Children; The Negro; The Labor Struggle; The Consumer Pays; Little Owner What Now? The Government as Exploiter.

$2.75

FREDERICK A. STOKES & COMPANY 443 Fourth Avenue New York

STOKES

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You Cannot Afford to Miss

BOLSHEVISM, FASCISM and the LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC STATE

By MAURICE PARMELEE

●

Every thinking person who wishes to keep abreast of the times realizes the vital importance of an adequate understanding of modern trends in government. Dr. Parmelee's book is an attempt to clarify our knowledge of the three types of social movement dominating the world scene today—to evaluate their merits, limitations and ultimate aims in the light of their relation to each other and to the world scheme as a whole. **$3.00**

●

At leading bookstores or from

JOHN WILEY & SONS, INC.

440 Fourth Avenue New York, N. Y.

THE TWILIGHT OF THE SUPREME COURT

By EDWARD S. CORWIN

McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence in Princeton University

An appraisal of the various features of the New Deal, the Recovery Program and the NRA in the light of constitutional principles. The many questions raised by the New Deal enable this distinguished author to give his views as to the relationship which has existed and should exist between courts, legislatures and executives. A notable book by one of the foremost authorities on American Constitutional Law.

$2.50

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, New Haven Conn.

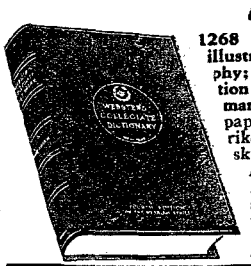
For Anybody's Christmas

A Treasure of a Gift!

The best abridged dictionary — the largest of the Merriam-Webster abridgments. It is a rich and convenient storehouse of useful and cultural information.

WEBSTER'S COLLEGIATE

A Merriam-Webster



1268 pages; 106,000 entries; 1700 illustrations; dictionary of biography; a gazeteer; rules of punctuation; foreign words and phrases; many other helpful features. Thin-paper, indexed: Cloth $3.50; Fabrikoid $5.00; Leather $7.00; Pigskin, dark blue or natural, $8.50.

Purchase of your bookseller or send order and remittance direct to the publishers or write for full information.

G. & C. MERRIAM CO.

442 Broadway, Springfield, Mass.

welfare, the educational system, student strife, the preservation of purity and morals, and control of the press. Whatever the specialized interest of the reader may be, he is almost certain to find some reference to it in one chapter or another.

Taken as a whole, the book uncovers a series of grave evils and maladjustments extending into virtually every phase of Japan's corporate life. Convincing evidence is lavishly provided at all points. But Mr. Wildes nowhere presents the unifying thesis that could have tied his facts together into logical relationship. Failing an adequate treatment of causation, his chapters tag along like beads on a string, each more or less a separate entity. The conclusion to be derived from his evidence is unmistakable. Japan's whole social order is being shaken to its foundation by the crisis occurring in its profit-centered economy. From this central source flow the abnormalities which M. Wildes notes on every hand. The economic breakdown lies at the root of the trend toward fascism, the demand for territorial conquests, and the feverish preparations for war. It conditions the anti-foreign reaction, and colors the desperate reshuffling of the nation's oldest myths and philosophic concepts. The rather harmless delusion of being a God-descended people is transformed, under present conditions, into the philosophic undergirding of a drive for imperialistic expansion. Instead of the "white man's burden" Japan takes upon herself the task of instructing the Manchurian Chinese in the virtues of the "kingly way" *(wang tao)*—a political concept derived, ironically enough, from the Confucian philosophy. In all these reactions Japan is merely duplicating processes now occurring in Western societies, similarly confronted by the collapse of an outworn economic system.

Mr. Wildes labels his final chapter War or Revolution. The heading is a logical one, correctly presenting the alternatives before Japan. War, he declares, is virtually inevitable, but "revolution is scarcely yet upon the home horizon, though it cannot be forever absent if existing conditions are permitted to prevail." How to remedy existing conditions? The answer constitutes an extraordinary confession of the author's failure to grasp the essential nature of the issues which his book faithfully records. "Japan needs a rededication to pure patriotism. She requires a reformation in her statecraft."

T. A. Bisson

Shorter Notices

Horizons of Death. By Norman Macleod. Parnassus Press. $1.75.

There is some very nice word painting in this volume, impressions of New Mexico and of certain spots in the Middle West. Mr. Macleod uses the Pueblo and Navajo imagery to express his own reactions to the Southwest, adapting it quite successfully to the emotions of the white man. When he writes of the city and of modern ideas he very often imitates MacLeish, and he is not very successful in his use of another poet's rhythms; he does better when he keeps to his own path. There is a certain liveliness of observation in his less imitative poems, now and then a very good image. In technique he resembles the imagists, but he links his images into a brief story or an equally brief account of a mood. The poet has traveled and has sensed the significance of the scenes he has visited. But on the whole, his poems lack that depth of penetration, that authenticity of phrase and rhythm, which make fine poetry.

Basket for a Fair. By Laura Benét. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $1.75.

Miss Benét is the only American poet whose particular talent is akin to De la Mare's. With the naive vision and humor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of a child she combines just enough adult wisdom to make her beautifully turned little poems penetrating and poignant. They are other-worldly poems. Most of them are, like legends (some are legends retold), curiously interpretative of something we have known a long time and half forgotten. There is not in Miss Benét, to be sure, quite the unsatisfied hunger for the world just across the border of reality that characterizes Walter de la Mare. She is more content to live fancifully in *this* world. Her imagery, therefore, is less tenuous, more realistic than his, her music less nostalgic. She is a poet to read in special quiet moods. But she is also capable of inducing in her reader this very mood, this charmed state of mind. In her own field Miss Benét is a true artist. In her subtle use of old legends and her ability to penetrate the purity of childish sensitivity, she is unlike any other American poet. Her poems about animals particularly catch every movement. She has a delightful sense of humor and much tenderness as well.

Swing Your Mountain Gal. Rebecca Cushman. Houghton Mifflin and Company. $2.50.

This book makes a greater contribution to folklore than to poetry. But its rather rough verse is a good medium for the stories Miss Cushman tells and for her character sketches of Southern Highlanders. She lets them tell their own stories in their own language, which she has accurately set down. From these sketches we learn a great deal about the manners of living, the moral codes, the community interests of the North Carolina mountaineers. The book is rich in human feeling and very sincere.

Thirty Pieces. By Sidney Salt. Majorca: Caravel Press. $1.

This poet takes off from the imagist school, but his poems are in effect philosophical concepts resulting from images in motion. His images are never static. His rhythm is firm, but it lies between the conventionally poetic and free verse. Many of the poems have been printed in the *New Review, transition, Pagany.* In each poem it is as if the effect of a moving object were given in rhythm and picture, and as if this, immediately and almost without being actually drawn, were transferred into an idea of the significance of the thing seen, a reflection upon the meaning of the thing felt. Biblical references and implications are very frequent, but they are used rather in relation to the modern feeling of flux and change in all things than in the sense of religious prophecy. The whole has an indefinable, stirring quality. The poet seems to be interpreting those vague fleeting glimpses of meaning to which most of us are susceptible, those evanescent awarenesses which defy words. This is unusual poetry, although its peculiar sensitiveness is not always easily caught by the reader, and the stirrings it would record are not always clearly communicated.

Poems. By Thomas McGreevy. The Viking Press. $1.50.

Thomas McGreevy, Irish Nationalist and Catholic, is an interesting poet. His poetic method is, in general, similar to that employed in much modern poetry—conversational lines and rhythms, the conscious thought and the subconscious feeling placed in juxtaposition. He pictures the decline of a society, the disintegration so typical of the post-war world. But his scene is often Dublin, and he knows that city well as the background of much revolutionary and anti-English feeling. He knows his people, too—their emotional instability and their impulsive violence. As a poet he is technically skilful; he is interesting chiefly because of his analysis of the Irish character.

Leifsaga. By Henry Chapin. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.

Selecting his details from various sagas, Henry Chapin has given us, in respectable verse, the story of the Norse discoveries of America. The tenth-century sagas on which he draws have a

TWO OUTSTANDING
NEW VICTOR RECORDINGS
that make highly welcome Christmas gifts

BEETHOVEN'S NINTH SYMPHONY BY STOKOWSKI
and the Philadelphia Orchestra
on VICTOR'S
Finest Red Seal Recording

Never before has any recording, *or any reproduced music in the home,* even approached the musical perfection of this Album! You will recognize this excellence throughout the First, Second and Third Movements, but when you hear the mighty Choral Movement, you'll be thrilled by a magnificence that's almost unbelievable!

VICTOR proudly presents
RACHMANINOFF'S
SECOND SYMPHONY

Eugene Ormandy and Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra play this superb masterpiece. Its composition—by the great Russian, Rachmaninoff—is of such outstanding melodic beauty it appeals instantly and permanently to every music lover.

In this new Victor Higher Fidelity Recording (one of a very important series) the Second Symphony is a beautiful work, superbly directed by Eugene Ormandy . . . and realistically recorded, as only Victor can!

Today, this very day, hear and own these epoch-making recordings. They're on sale at all RCA Victor record dealers.

VICTOR RECORDS
RCA VICTOR COMPANY, Inc. • Camden, N. J.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

□ PLAYS □ MOVIES □ LECTURES □

D'OYLY CARTE GILBERT & SULLIVAN OPERAS
FROM SAVOY THEATRE, LONDON
LAST TWO WEEKS—ENGAGEMENT ENDS SAT., DEC. 15th
Wed. Mat. and Night and Thurs. and Fri. Nights "THE MIKADO."
Sat. Mat. and Night "PRINCESS IDA."—Farewell Week beginning Mon., Dec. 10, Mon. and Tues. Nights "COX AND BOX" and "THE PIRATES OF PENZANCE." Wed. Mat. and Wed. and Thurs. Nights "IOLANTHE." Fri. Night and Sat. Mat. and Night "THE GONDOLIERS."
SEATS AT BOX OFFICE FOR ALL PERFORMANCES
MARTIN BECK THEATRE 45th Street West of 8th Avenue

OPENS MONDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 10th, at 8:45
THEATRE UNION'S NEW PLAY
SAILORS of CATTARO
A SWEEPING DRAMA OF LIFE IN THE CREW'S QUARTERS OF A BATTLESHIP
CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE, 14th Street and 6th Avenue
Prices 30c to $1.50; no tax. Matinees Tues. and Sat. 2:45
For information on reduced rates for Benefit Theatre Parties call WAtkins 9-2050.

"A genuine contribution to the American theater."—*Gabriel, American.*
HERMAN SHUMLIN *presents*
The Children's Hour
A Play for Adults by LILLIAN HELLMAN
MAXINE ELLIOTT'S THEATRE WEST 39th STREET
Evenings 8:30—50c to $3. Matinees Wed. and Sat.—2:40—50c to $2.

Sun. Evg. Dec. 16 at 8:30—NEW SCHOOL, 66 W. 12th St.
The American Russian Institute presents **JULIEN BRYAN** and his absorbing new motion pictures
SOVIET RUSSIA and SIBERIA
Soviet homes, marriage and divorce courts, baby clinics, churches, theatres, aviation, Siberian fishing collectives, state farms, Lama temples, gold mining, industrialization of the Volga, and other authentic scenes.
Seats $1 and $1.50 plus tax now on sale at
American Russian Institute, 56 W. 45th St., Phone MU 2-0313

FIFTEENTH SEASON
Let Us Not Allow The Tradition of Free Minds to Perish
THE GROUP
A Clearing House of Opinion
Meets Every Tuesday Evening at
HOTEL PETER STUYVESANT—2 West 86th St.
TUESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 11th, AT 8:30 P. M.
DR. SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN
(Author of: "The New Road to Progress"—pioneer work in the Marxianizing of Psychology and Psycho-Therapy)
will speak on:
"Capitalism - Fascism - Socialism and Communism"
Admission 50c. Weekly notices on request.
Informal Social Hour will follow discussion — Dancing.

First Appearance this Season! **JOHN STRACHEY**
SPEAKS ON
"Does Fascism Breed War?"
MECCA TEMPLE 55th St. bet. 6 & 7 Av DECEMBER 28th FRIDAY EVE., 8:30
Admission 30c., 50c., 75c., $1.00 and $1.50
Tickets On Sale At—N. Y. City Office, 213 Fourth Ave. : Dauber & Pine Bookshop, 66 Fifth Ave. : Rand School Bookshop, 7 East 15th St. : Mayfair Bookshop, 1 East 47th St. : Workers Bookshops, 699 Prospect Ave., Bronx; 369 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn; 50 East 13th Street, New York City.
Auspices: AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

□ BOOKS □

***The* SEX TECHNIQUE IN MARRIAGE** *By* I. E. Hutton, M. D.
Dr. Ira Wile describes the book as a clear, succinct, non-emotional, authoritative and conservative exposition of the practical factors involved in making marriage successful on the sexual level. That describes the book exactly. It is primarily concerned with the conduct of the honeymoon and with the technic of the sexual performance."—Dr. Morris Fishbein
Price $2.00 (*postage 15c extra*) Recommended by Physicians
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York City

good deal in common with other tales of sea exploration, of men with a passion for discovery whose lives are given to the sea, while their women make the less dramatic sacrifice at home. Originally the sagas were recited orally to an audience familiar with their material. They set forth the bravery and endurance of the heroes who, sailing in ships the size of small fishing schooners, touched America, probably in the vicinity of Cape Cod, long before Columbus. Mr. Chapman's story is less communal in spirit, centering around the life of one hero, Leif Ericson, and Thorgunna, the daughter of a Norse king.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Oxford University Press. $3.

This tall blue volume is not the miracle that one had expected, perhaps wrongly, at the price. The paper is not opaque; the type, while large, is black and crowded; and the heads are mechanical and heavy. Yet it is clearly the best one-volume Shakespeare at the price. The text is A. H. Bullen's, and the order of the plays is roughly that established by Sir Edmund Chambers.

Drama

Empire Builder

A FEW weeks ago "The Farmer Takes a Wife" presented an interesting picture out of the American past. "Gold Eagle Guy" (Morosco Theater) presents another, but the moods of the two plays are far from being the same. Both, to be sure, might be called romantic, because both tend to surround remote events with a certain fabulous atmosphere and to convey the suggestion that these earlier days were spacious in a sense that ours are not. But here the resemblance stops. Mr. Connelly's comedy of the Erie Canal was quaintly and picturesquely charming; Melvin Levy's melodrama about the ruthless builder of a Pacific shipping line is made of sterner stuff. The picturesque is not absent, as indeed it could hardly be from a story which begins in the California of the sixties, when the magic power of sudden wealth had brought luxury and fashion to an isolated aristocracy set down in the midst of an unruly community founded by uncouth adventurers. But the interest of the play centers in the character of the magnate who spared neither himself nor anyone else in his determination to build his maritime empire. The intention is evidently to interpret through him the spirit which animated the whole race of American Napoleons and to present them as the victims of a kind of demoniacal possession. Dramatically, at least, the intention is successfully carried out, for Guy Button, played with great force by Edward Bromberg, becomes a memorable figure—rugged, brutal, possessed by furies, and yet clothed with a certain magnificence.

The action begins in a dance-hall saloon into which Button comes as an adventurer like the rest. It proceeds to show how, through shady manipulations, he won control of the company for which he worked, and how as head of the Gold Eagle Line he crushed competitors and saved himself in one crisis by the theft of some millions in gold from one of his own vessels, which was then sent to the bottom with all on board. Thus in the background is the story of American commerce as conducted in the days of the great buccaneers, but the main business of the play is to study the psychology of one typical figure. Button is a merciless, inhuman tyrant and the victim of his own will to power. Yet he believes, in some sense truly, that he sacrifices himself as willingly as others to the destiny of which he is the instrument. God is on his side, God will justify the methods

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LECTURES

COOPER UNION
Department of Social Philosophy
(Formerly The People's Institute)
IN THE GREAT HALL
8th Street and Astor Place—at 8 o'clock
Admission Free

Friday, December 14th
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The American Business Man."

Sunday, December 16th
PROFESSOR RICHARD McKEON
"Psychology and Religion."

Tuesday, December 18th
PROFESSOR RICHARD McKEON
"Nature and Experience in Political Theory."

ANNA LOUISE STRONG of Russia
American Lecture Tour—Jan. and Feb., 1935
Is Fascism Leading to World War?, a new lecture based on thirteen years' experience in the U. S. S. R. and other revolutions and a first-hand study, in December, of present regimes in the Fascist countries of Europe—Germany, Italy, Austria and Spain. Other subjects: My Thirteen Years in the Soviet Union; The First Year of American-Soviet Relations; U. S. S. R., the World's New West.
For further details and bookings, address the
OPEN FORUM SPEAKERS BUREAU
80 Boylston Street Boston, Mass.

OPERA

NON-PROFIT MAKING PEOPLES OPERA OF HIGHEST STANDARD

OPERA 1500 good seats **50c** Seats also at $1, $1.50, $2
Sat., Dec. 8 at 8:15
Sun., Dec. 9 at 8:15
AIDA
MANON
HIPPODROME, 6th Avenue and 43d Street. VA. 3-4266

SYMPHONIC MUSIC

MUSIC LOVERS—100,000 of the finest records in the world on sale. 50c - 75c per record (values $1.50 and $2). The symphonies, Chamber Music, Operas, etc., of BACH, BEETHOVEN, BRAHMS, MOZART, WAGNER, etc. Mail orders. Catalogue. THE GRAMAPHONE SHOP, INC., 18 E. 48th St., New York.

PERSONAL

THE Sun-Trail Club (Nudist) desires membership of liberal-minded cultured persons, residing in Metropolitan area. Write for interview, Box 50, 1229 Park Row Bldg., N. Y. C.

LET CONTACTS BE YOUR SANTA CLAUS and bring you a new friend for Christmas! Over 1200 cultured members to choose from. Established 1927. Free book exchange. Send 3c stamp for unique plan. CONTACTS, Department A, Box 91, Station D, New York City.

YOUNG lady (Jewish) planning to winter in Miami, very economically, looking for girl with similar idea. Box 534, c/o *The Nation*.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

J.G. EDMONDS, LITERARY AGENT. First novels, stories wanted. No advance charges. 5639 Rippey St., Pittsburgh, Pa. (or 108 W. 85th St., New York).

ADVERTISERS:-
Classified advertising copy for the issue appearing Thursday must reach us not later than noon Mondays. Display copy must reach us the previous Thursday.

Classified rates, ½ inch, $3.08
1 inch, $6.16

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, N. Y. CO 7-3330

MISCELLANEOUS

SOVIET AMERICAN SECURITIES CORP.
30 Broad St., N.Y. - Tel. HAnover 2-5332

FOR RENT

FURNISHED APARTMENT

WOODSIDE. Cosily furnished up-to-date two room apartment, suitable 2 or 3, or couple. $45. Box 537, c/o *The Nation*.

APARTMENT TO SHARE

YOUNG woman to share with couple, 4 room studio apartment, completely furnished; firigidaire, shower, quiet, sun-flooded top floor, elevator. References exchanged. $33 monthly. Call evenings or write, Brown, 335 W. 14th St., N. Y.

SHOPPERS CORNER

DELIGHTFUL and appropriate gifts. Evergreens with cones, berries, mosses from the mountains. For vases and decorations. $2.00 box by post sufficient for dozen remembrances. Send orders to H. Manice, Box 17, Livingstonville, N. Y.

ELECTRIC Varityper-typewriter in perfect condition. Has five changeable type faces. Will sell cheap for cash. Box 536, c/o *The Nation*.

DO YOU WANT—

A house in Bermuda—a ranch in Wyoming — an apartment — a room—an office—a secretary—a piano—a lecturer—a tutor—a telescope—a grandfather's clock—a bicycle—

All of these have appeared in our Classified columns.

We have 37,000 subscribers you, too, can reach. Call the Advertising Department, COrtlandt 7-3330 by Friday, so your advertisement may be in the next week's issue.

Rates: 62 cents a line of 6 words
Minimum 3 lines

5% discount for 3 insertions
10% discount for 10 insertions

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street
New York City

RESORTS

COME UP FOR THE HOLIDAYS
Dec. 21—Jan. 1
An unusual program, with many enjoyable features, "from Mickey Mouse to mountain-climbing"—and a most congenial crowd. Trio, Chamber Music. Shows. Movies. Winter Sports. Ice-skating (nominal transportation charge).
Write for Week and Week-end Rates
Week-end round trip fares to Harmon:
Grand Central—$1.50; *125th St.*—$1.30.
Taxi meets all trains at Harmon station.
BLUE MOUNTAIN LODGE
Peekskill, N. Y. Peek. 1403 Phone

RED OAKS Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey
Golf, riding, tennis, all outdoor activities, 150 acre estate, private lake, beautiful country. Excellent food, spacious house, log fires. Just over the hour from New York by train or auto. Pennsylvania Railroad or Central Railroad of New Jersey to Red Bank.
Management: Mascha and Hyman Strunsky
Telephone: Atlantic Highlands 264

SERMAN'S RESORT, INC.
Old Bridge, New Jersey
(Open All Year)
Ideal for vacations and week-ends. Excellent food. Moderate rates.
Riding and other activities on extensive grounds. One hour and twenty minutes from New York by Pennsylvania Railroad or automobile.
Now booking for Christmas and New Years Holidays.
Tel. Jamesburg 17 F 15.

ZINDOREST PARK
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 300
Formerly a millionaire's estate of 150 acres, beautifully landscaped. Tennis. Handball courts. Fishing. Many more attractions. Saddle horses on premises. Nearby golf. 1½ hours Erie R.R. or auto. Open all year.

The LAKE VIEW
is preferred for excellent location, splendid modern cuisine and different clientele.
Especially reduced rate for Thanksgiving weekend.
59 Madison Ave., Lakewood, N. J.
REBECCA SILVER ANNA EPSTEIN
Tel. Lakewood 287—963

Hillcrest Lodge among the Watchung Mts. 25 minutes by train, 50 by car. Golf, tennis on premises. Plainfield, N. J. Millington 222.

THE OLD FASHION HOUSE
TIME for reservations, Christmas and New Years. Full week, good entertainments. Congers, N. Y. Box 153.

MILLARD'S
offers excellent American-Jewish cuisine and accommodations. Refined home atmosphere. SPECIAL pre-holiday weekend rate $5.00 and up. 801 Clifton Ave., Lakewood, N. J. Tel. Lakewood 216-W.

RIVERSIDE INN, Seymour, Conn., on Housatonic River. Beautiful country. Fishing, boating, other outdoor sports. Excellent food. Rates, $3.50 day, $20 week. Telephone Derby 639-2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he uses, because he identifies his will with the will of something larger than himself—with whatever power it is which has decreed that America shall grow and prosper, that wealth and power shall spring into being on an almost desert continent. Obviously the play has "social implications," though the author has left them in solution, and it is, I think, the better for the fact that one is presented with the materials for drawing one's own conclusions without being able to say just what the author's are.

Perhaps his sympathies lie with the opinions expressed by an ineffectual artist who has had his unpleasant glimpses of the sweating backs upon which commercial or industrial empires are carried; perhaps, on the other hand, he means to win for Button that degree at least of pardon which understanding is said necessarily to bring with it. I have, moreover, a strong suspicion that Mr. Levy was led to think about Guy Button because he had been thinking about Lenin and Mussolini and Hitler. The three last may have formulated a social philosophy more clearly than Guy Button did, and they may have tried to integrate their aims with the aims of the state instead of disregarding them. But the similarities are at least as great as the differences. Each is dominated by the idea of himself as the instrument by which inevitable social developments are to be brought about and each is convinced that the cost to the individual is not to be counted when a purpose of history is to be brought to fulfilment. Certainly the comparison, whether justifiable or not, is responsible for the particular interest which such a play has. Consciously or unconsciously every intelligent spectator must be thinking—as I believe the author was—about what the theory of manifest destiny always implies.

The Group Theater, in association with D. A. Doran, has given the play an elaborate and skilful production, with some extremely effective settings and a generally excellent company from which Mr. Bromberg again stands out as one of the most powerful actors on our stage. One occasionally feels in all the Group's carefully thought-out productions a certain stiffness, as though the art had not quite learned to conceal itself, but the fault is one that it is hardly worth while to bring up against an organization which has come as near as it has to realizing very high aims, and which in the space of a very few years has made itself one of the two or three most important forces in the New York theater.

In "Page Miss Glory" (Mansfield Theater) Philip Dunning has very successfully turned his hand to the creation of a rough and ready farce about a chambermaid catapulted into fame as the alleged winner of a beauty contest. As in "She Loves Me Not," which the new piece resembles in general spirit, the emphasis is upon the speed and extravagance of the action, which rushes from one surprising situation to another, and the effect of breathless if somewhat mechanical hilarity is very well sustained. Dorothy Hall and that veteran of innumerable hard-boiled parts, Charles Brown, help keep it really funny.

"Anything Goes" (Alvin Theater) is probably the most generally enjoyable musical comedy of the year—thanks in part to Ethel Merman's interpretations of the lyrics and music of Cole Porter. Styles change rapidly where such things are concerned, but both Mr. Porter and Miss Merman have a touch of originality which, for the moment at least, has earned them the right to be considered the latest word in the writing and the singing of jazz. Victor Moore, as an ineffectual gangster known as Public Enemy No. 13, also helps very materially.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The section on Labor and Industry has been unavoidably omitted from the present issue. It will appear next week as usual.

Contributors to This Issue

H. L. MENCKEN is well known as author and editor. "A Treatise on Right and Wrong" is his most recent book.

OSCAR JASZI, professor of economics at Oberlin College, was Minister of Nationalities in the Karolyi government of Hungary. He recently revisited the Balkan and Danube countries to investigate existing economic and political conditions.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL is professor of history at the University of Toronto.

CARL VAN DOREN, editor of the Literary Guild, has published many books of biography and criticism. His most recent is an anthology, "Modern American Prose."

JAMES BURNHAM, professor of philosophy at Washington Square College, New York University, is the author of "Philosophical Analysis."

LIONEL ABEL has contributed poetry and reviews to *Pagany*, the *New World Monthly*, and *The Nation*.

GEORGE SELDES is the author of "You Can't Print That!" "The Truth Behind the News," "Iron, Blood, and Profits," and other books.

MARGARET MEAD, assistant curator of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History, is the author of "The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe."

HUGH H. DARBY is a member of the Research Department of the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

BABETTE DEUTSCH is the author of "Epistle to Prometheus," a book of verse, and of "Mask of Silenus," a novel.

R. P. BLACKMUR has contributed verse and criticism to various literary periodicals.

T. A. BISSON is the Far Eastern expert on the staff of the Foreign Policy Association.

□ JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH says □

ANYTHING GOES. Alvin Theatre. Reviewed in this issue.

D'OYLY CARTE OPERA COMPANY. Gilbert and Sullivan Operas. Martin Beck Theater. English company in the best performances of the familiar operas that you are likely ever to see.

GOLD EAGLE GUY. Morosco Theatre. Reviewed in this issue.

L'AIGLON. Broadhurst Theater. Eva LeGallienne and Ethel Barrymore in an excellent production of Rostand's museum piece.

LIFE BEGINS AT 8:40. Winter Garden. A lively, talented, amusing show with several sketches above the average. The best of them is "Chin Up," which makes an English gentleman out of Bert Lahr. M.M.

MERRILY WE ROLL ALONG. Music Box. Ingenious, smooth, witty but rather mechanical drama about the youth of various successful men who meant when they were young to do really important things. Reveals the authors, Moss Hart and George Kaufman, in a mood rather more serious than usual.

THE CHILDREN'S HOUR. Maxine Elliott Theater. Stunning performance by Florence McGee as the most despicable child ever seen on the stage. Powerful and intelligent despite a bad last act.

THE FARMER TAKES A WIFE. Forty-Sixth St. Theater. Marc Connelly helps make a delightful play about life on the old Erie Canal. It's colorful, picturesque and amusing.

WITHIN THE GATES. National Theater. Sean O'Casey's modern miracle play with Lillian Gish. Received with rapturous applause to which mine was not added.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED